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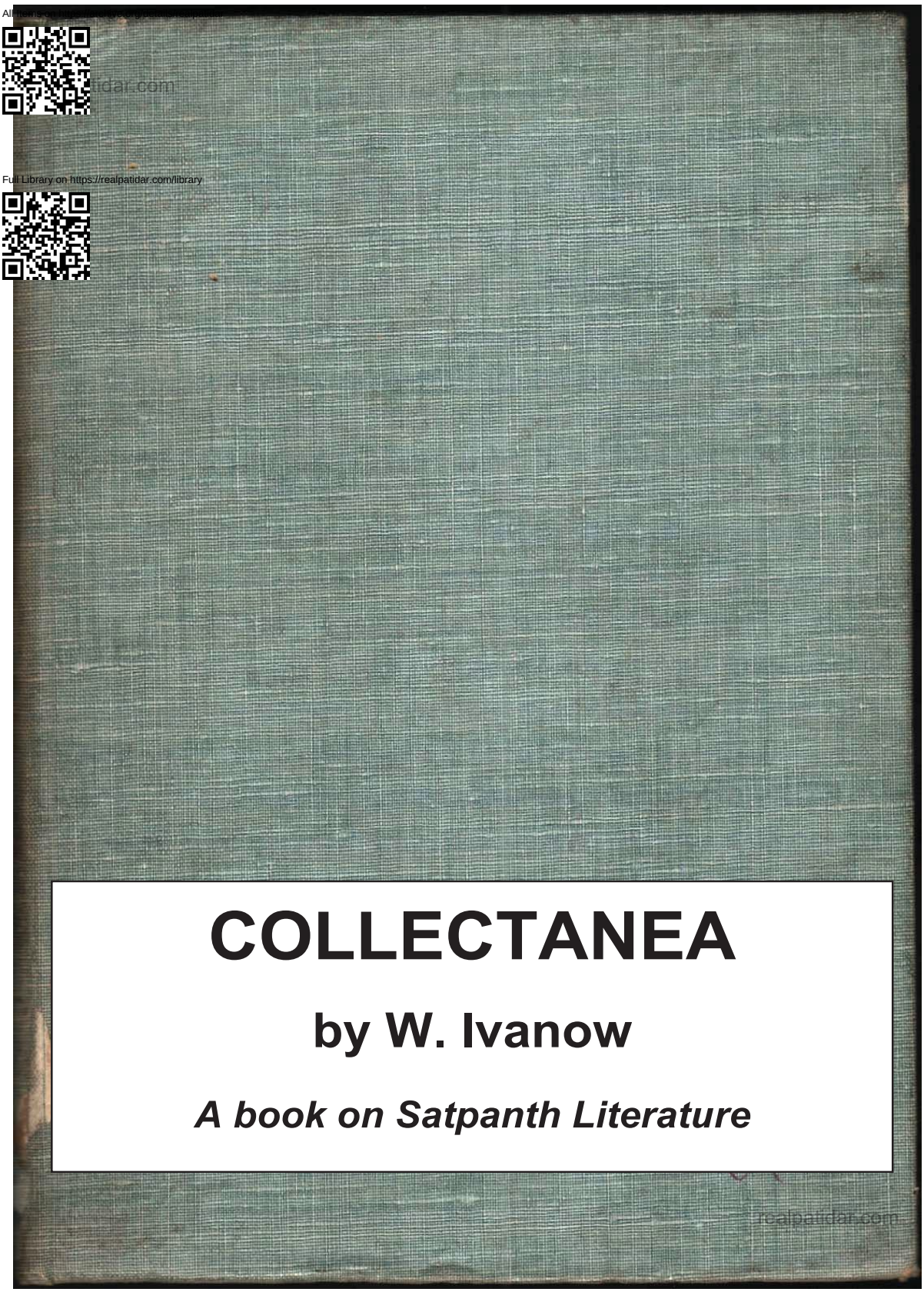

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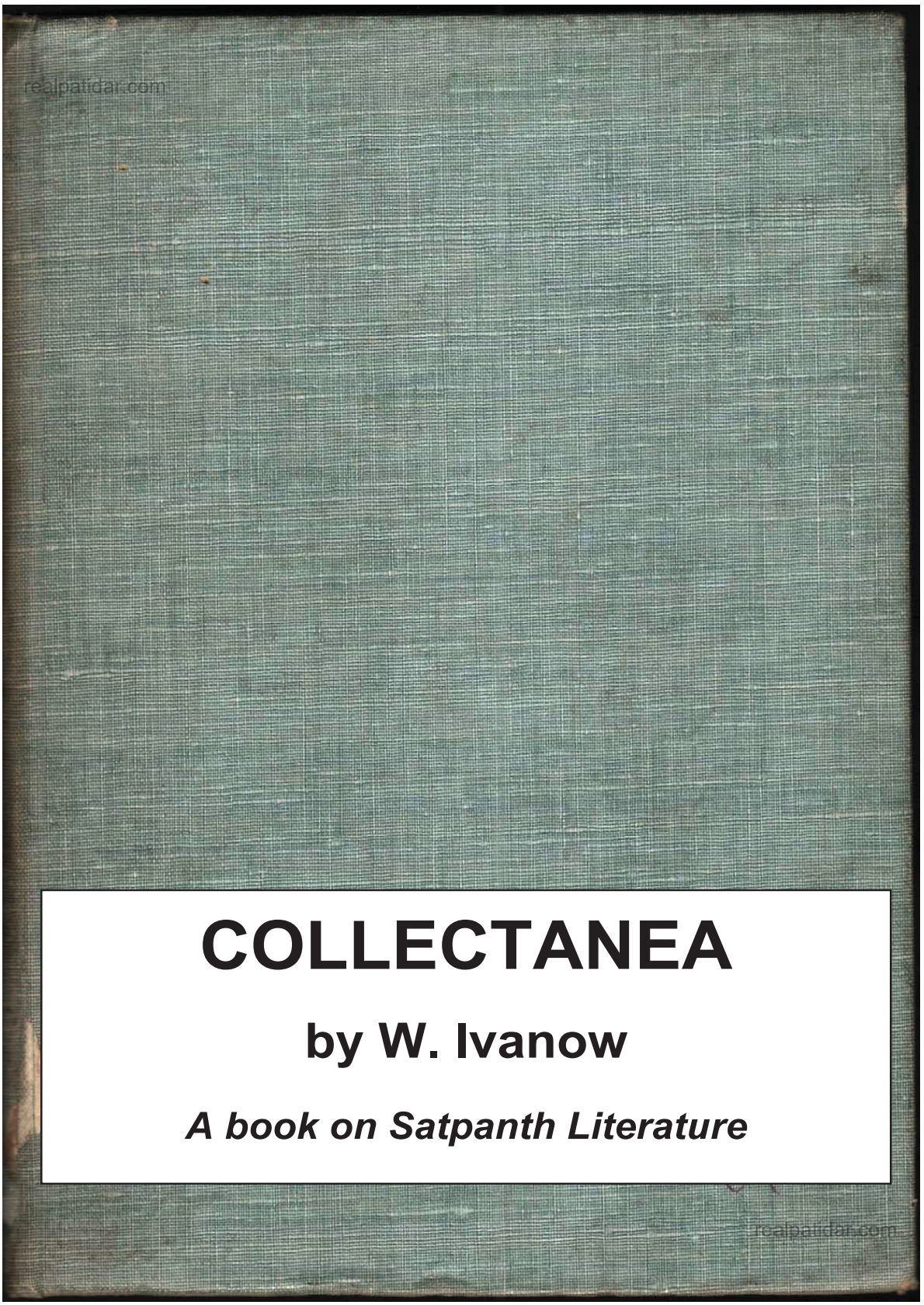

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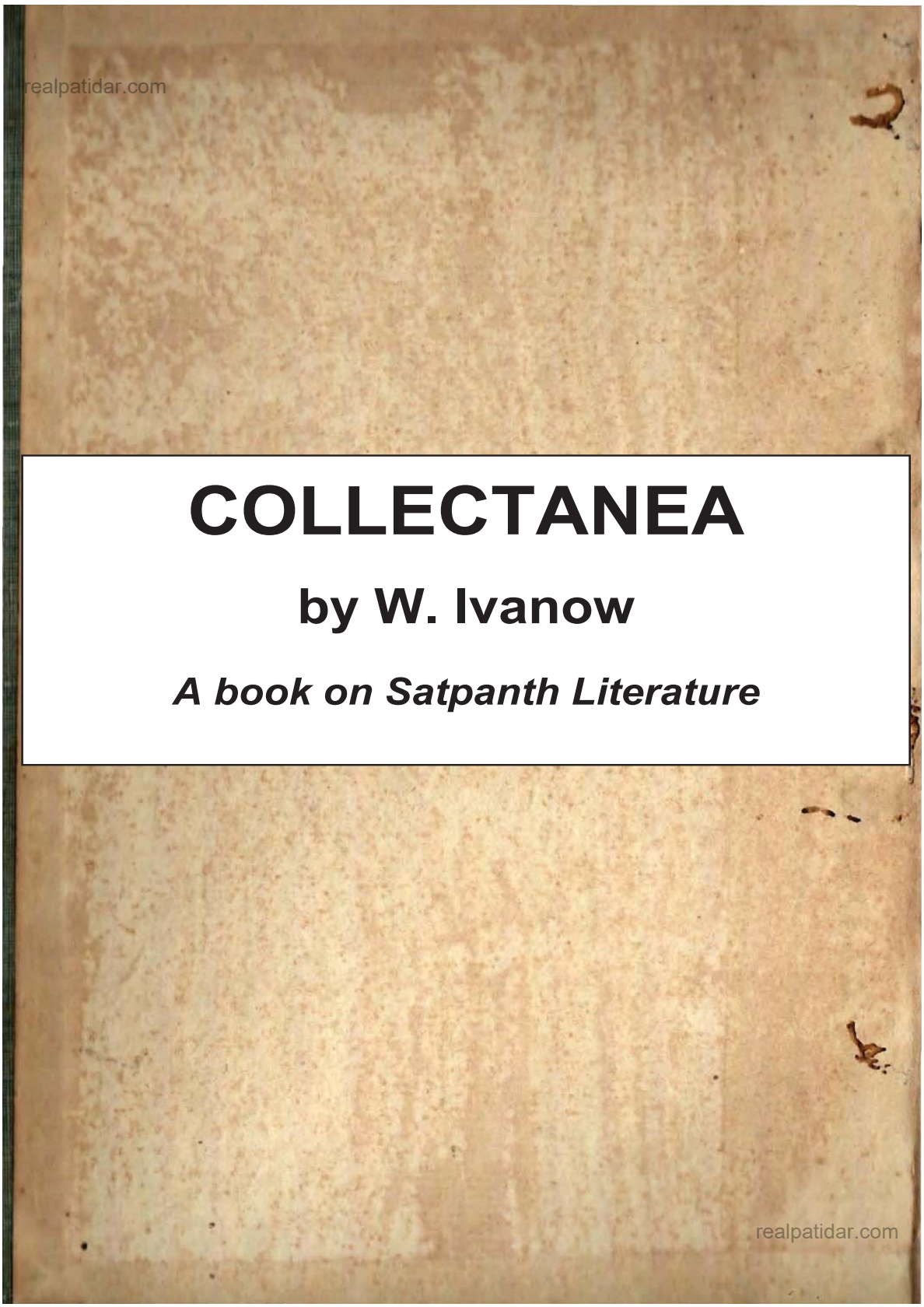

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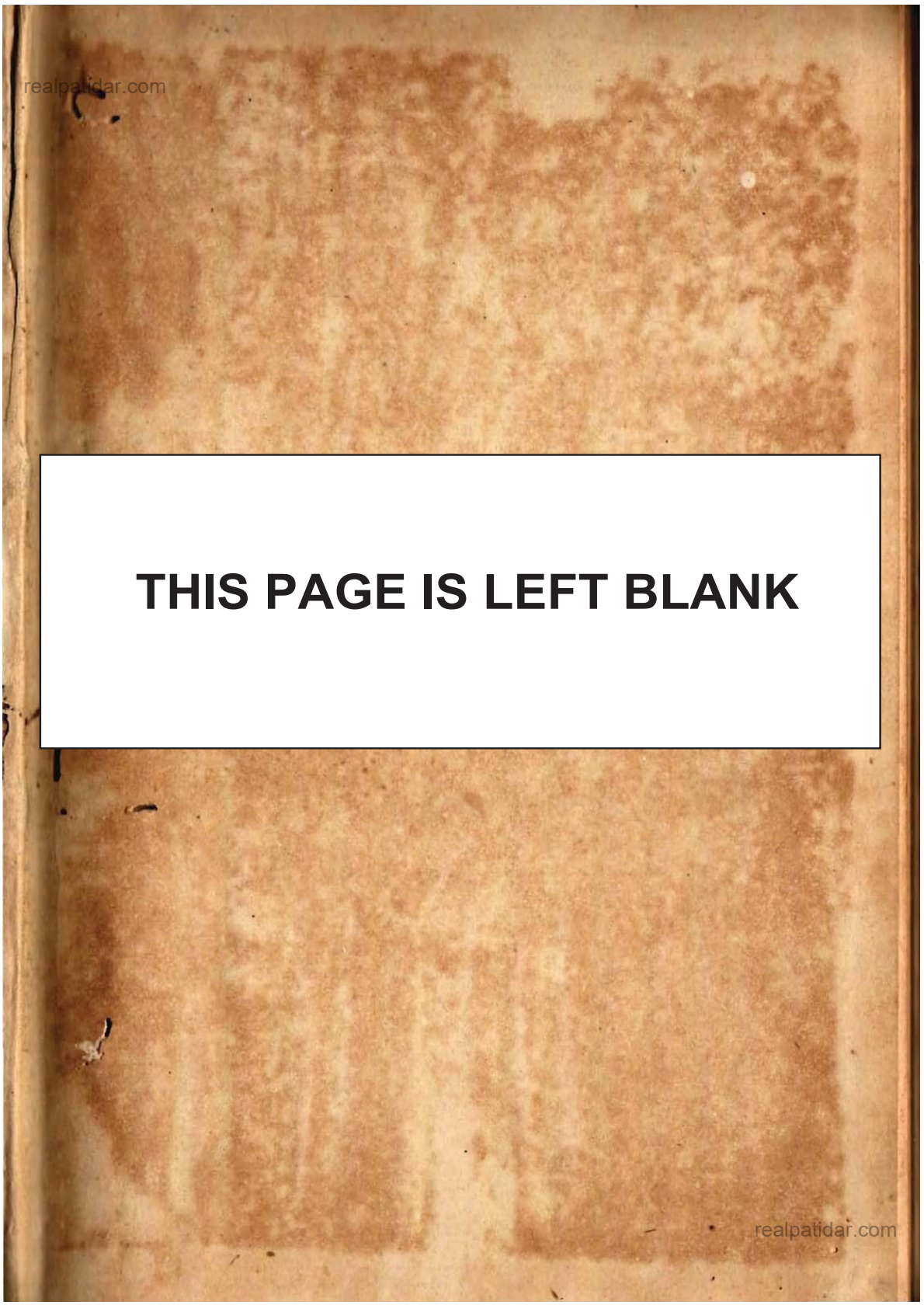

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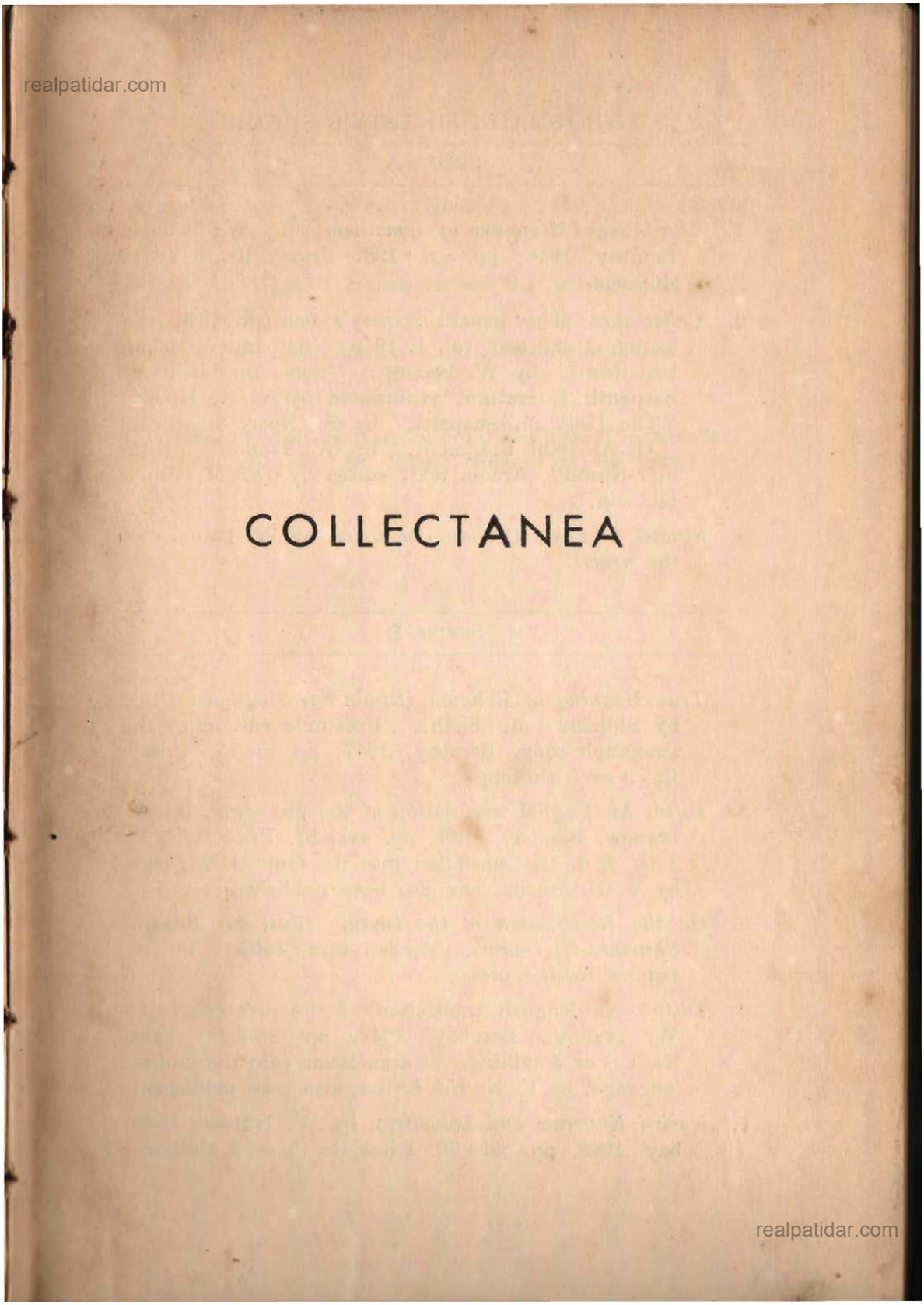

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THE ISMAILI SOCIETY

Series A, No. 2

COLLECTANEA

Vol. I. 1948

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Satpanth (Indian Ismailism), by W. Ivanow. — *Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature*, translated by V. N. Hooda. — *The Holy Shikshapatri*, by S. Noor Ali Shah. — *An Ali-Ilahi Fragment*, by W. Ivanow. — *Kitâbu'r-Rushd*, Arabic text, edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein.

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NOTICE

The aim of the "Ismaili Society", founded in Bombay on the 16th February 1946, is the promotion of independent and critical study of all matters connected with Ismailism, that is to say, of all branches of the Ismaili movement in Islam, their literature, history, philosophy, and so forth. The Society entirely excludes from its programme any religious or political propaganda or controversy, and does not intend to vindicate the viewpoint of any particular school in Ismailism. The "Ismaili Society" propose to publish monographs on subjects connected with such studies, critical editions of the original texts of early Ismaili works, their translations, and also collections of shorter papers and notes. Works by various authors are accepted for publication on their merits, i.e. the value of their contribution to the knowledge of Ismailism. It is a consistent policy of the "Ismaili Society" to encourage free exchange of opinions and ideas so long as they are based on serious study of the subject. It may be noted that the fact of publication of any work by the "Ismaili Society" does not by itself imply their concurrence with, or endorsement of, the views and ideas advanced therein.

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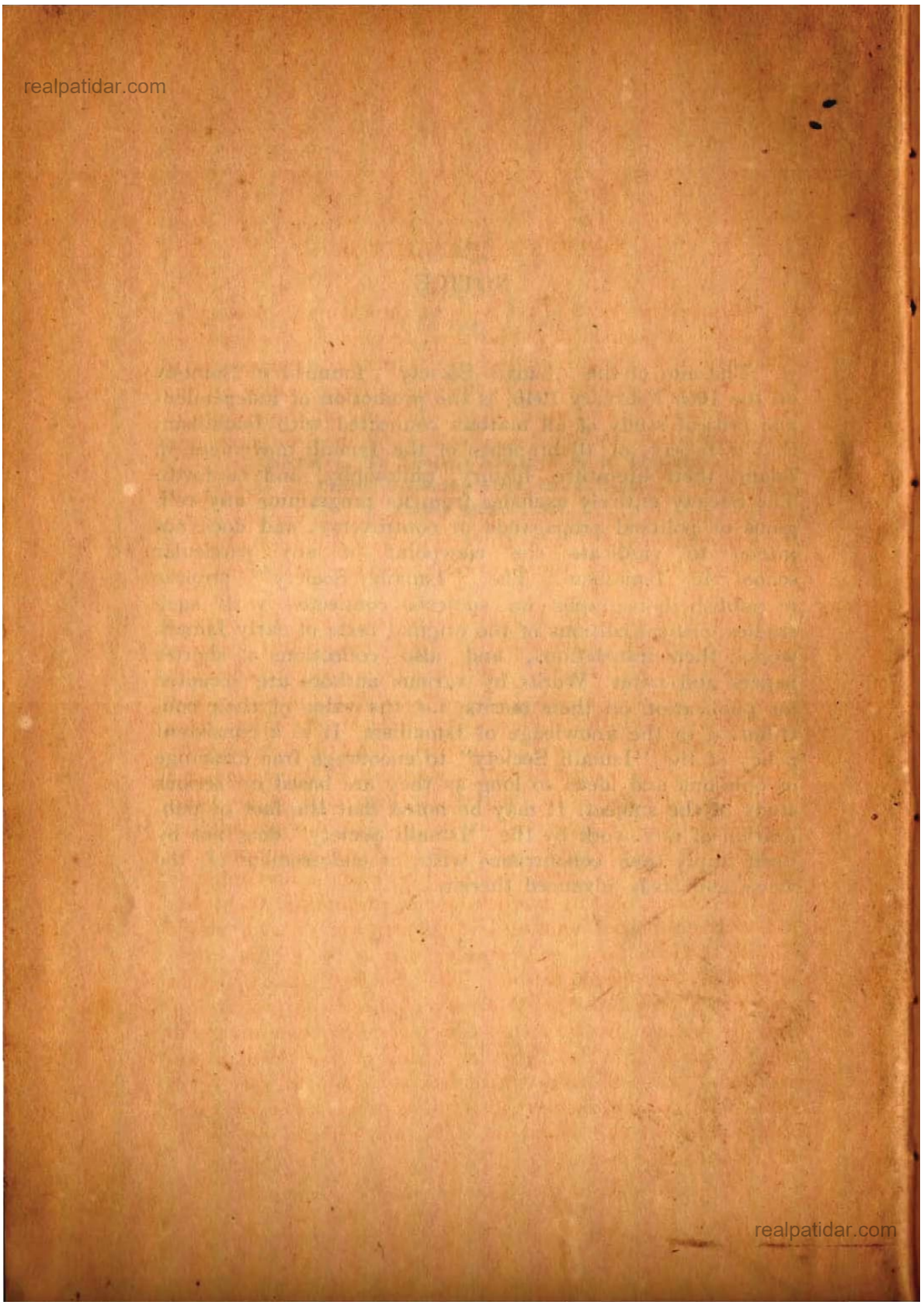

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR

This volume is the first issue of the ''Ismaili Society's'' proposed non-periodical publication devoted to the study of Ismailism and cognate subjects. Its primary purpose is to offer students facilities for publishing shorter works dealing with the matter, and exchanging opinions on the results of their researches. It is hoped that this publication may gradually become a recognized centre for such exchange of ideas, and that it may also help to centralize papers on Ismaili subjects, preventing their dispersion in various learned periodicals which are not always easily accessible to students other than those working within easy reach of well-equipped libraries.

Generally speaking, it may be conceded that the days of learned Oriental periodicals of that nineteenth century encyclopaedic type have passed. The advance of our knowledge and the inevitable process of integration and specialization in research make the walls separating each speciality from others higher and higher. The modern reader of such encyclopaedic learned periodicals often finds itself in the unenviable position of having nothing to read in them for a whole year. The change to more specialized journals or non-periodicals, such as the present one, on lines long since adopted by various branches of scientific studies, seems inevitable.

The object of this publication in promoting the study of Ismailism is not exclusive concentration on one single subject, however large and complex it may be. That would amount to over-specialization. The Society, taking that subject in a very broad sense, also includes in its programme work in cognate fields such as sectarian movements generally in Islam, Shi'ism, popular forms of the Sufic movement, and other matters which are not easy to specify in advance but which, nevertheless, may prove to be of value for the study of the evolution of Islamic civilization, in its Shi'ite-Ismaili aspect.

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With regard to the present volume in particular, its nucleus is formed by translations of a representative collection of specimens of the so far almost completely unknown literature of Satpanth, or Indian Ismailism. For many years I tried to induce my Ismaili friends to do something on such lines, but various attempts usually were abandoned very soon, never attaining fruition, until the task was undertaken by Mr. V. N. Hooda. Of earlier attempts only one was sufficiently complete to be published here, namely, the short work under the title of the "Holy Shikshapatri".

It was my duty to offer necessary comments and explanations to those papers. I also added an article on a fragment of an Ali-ilahi book, not only because of its bearings on Ismailism, but also to demonstrate the Society's attitude towards the inclusion of papers on non-Ismaili subjects.

The edition of the Arabic text of the *Kitâbu'r-Rushd wa'l-Hidâyat*, or rather its fragments, was most kindly undertaken by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, of the University of Cairo. The work is supposed to be one of the earliest in Ismaili literature, and therefore, although its contents can hardly be regarded as inspiring, it merits edition owing to its antiquity. I have given a complete translation, as far as it was possible, in my work "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", and I intended to edit the text. This was out of the question, however, owing to complete lack of facilities in Bombay for printing in Arabic. Now that owing to a long series of strikes and riots in India printing generally has become next to impossible here, and we have, with the most obliging assistance of Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, arranged for the printing of this volume in Egypt, the situation has changed. In Cairo, of course, facilities for printing in Arabic are abundant, and it was extremely kind of Dr. Kamil Hussein to consent to take up the question of editing the text and seeing it through the press.

Bombay, June, 1947.

W. IVANOW

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I

SATPANTH.

By W. IVANOW

Satpanth, really Sat Panth, i.e. the "True Path (to Salvation)", is the name of a sect of Islam, forming a kind of transition from ordinary Islamic doctrine of the Shi'ite type, to Hinduism. The Shi'ite element in it is represented by the Nizari form of Ismailism of the post-Alamût period in Persia, and Hinduism by the popular, chiefly Tantric aspects of that religious system. At present it is divided into two main branches : the Khojas who are the followers of His Highness the Aga Khan, and the Satpanthis who follow the *pîrs* who are the descendants of Imâm Shâh (d. in the first quarter of the tenth/sixteenth c.). The Satpanthis are divided into several groups paying allegiance to the different branches of the *pîrs*' family. In addition, various sections of the community show different tendencies. The majority of the Khoja community continues its traditional tendency of giving preponderance to Islamic elements at the expense of the Hinduistic, while in the Imam-shahi branches certain groups may pursue just the opposite course of drifting back to Hinduism. Moreover, there is a general tendency on the part of the leading strata of the Imam-shahi community, especially their *pîrs*, to disclaim all connection with Ismailism, however untenable such position may appear from a historical point of view. In Gujrat the Sayyids, i.e. descendants of Imâm Shâh, would claim they and their ancestors are Ithna-'asharis, while the Sayyids of Khandesh prefer to be, with their ancestors, pure Sunnites of the most orthodox complexion.

Satpanth by no means presents an exceptional phenomenon in Indian life in the sense of being a synthesis of Islam and Hinduism. As is well-known, the symbiosis of both these cultures and religions has produced a great variety of different forms of mutual influence. In many parts of India where the Muslim and Hindu population is

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in contact with each other, the lower classes of the Hindus take great interest in various Muslim shrines, saints and ceremonies, especially those of Muharram. There are even widespread Hindu-Muslim sects, such as the Panj-pîriyya, Haft-pîriyya, and others. On the other hand, especially in the East, in Bengal, Muslim peasants not uncommonly worship Hindu deities, such as Kali, etc., side by side with Allah. I remember reading in newspapers a case before a court in which a Muslim fisherman was sentenced for having immolated his own son before Kali in order to increase the catch of fish.

In my note, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat", published in 1936 (J.B.B.R.A.S., pp. 19-70), I have given in detail all that I could collect concerning the Satpanth of the Imam-shahi branch, touching only incidentally on the earlier history of the community before the split, and on the evolution of its doctrine. This was done because the literature that was accessible to me at the time was entirely of Islamic origin, and its authors could not claim much authority to speak on matters of doctrine. Not being an Indologist myself, I was unable to refer to the original *gnan*[1] literature which requires expert knowledge of several Indian languages. Now, owing to the valuable co-operation of the newly founded "Ismaili Society", I am in a better position to approach the question. A representative selection of either whole works or extracts has been translated into English by a Khoja specialist, Mr. V.N. Hooda, as published further here. This, though forming only a small

[1] The word *gnan*, the modern pronunciation (in modern Indian languages) of Sanskrit *jnanam*, knowledge, also appears in the forms of *ginan*, *dnyan*, etc. It is used in the sense of *the* knowledge, i.e. the real and true, as the Arabic Ismaili term *ḥaqâ'iq*, or the Ali-Ilahi term *saranjâm*, which is applied to all kinds of religious and mythological sacred literature. In a narrower sense the term *gnan* denotes a short poem of this kind. It may be noted, however, that although in accordance with the practice of Hinduism the majority of these works, both short and long, are written in *slokas*, metrical form, many of these can hardly be claimed as poetry in the real sense of the word.

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portion of the whole Satpanth literature, nevertheless, supplies sufficient materials to permit us to assess its general outlines, and arrive at some conclusions. As far as I know, this is the first occasion on which translations from the original *gnan* literature have been published. I hope students may share my impression that it is well worth studying for the interesting implications which it reveals in relation to the cultural evolution of India.

My activities with regard to the translations made by Mr. V. N. Hooda were confined to a limited degree of editing, and the addition of explanatory notes. The general atmosphere of that strange world which the *gnan* literature reveals, with its outlook, technical terms, mythology, and so forth, may appear so alien to the ordinary Islamic student as to be entirely unintelligible. To obviate the necessity of inserting lengthy footnotes, I thought it better to arrange the material which should go to such explanatory notes into a separate paper of introductory nature, which I offer here, leaving only minor matters to be dealt with on the spot. I must emphasise my desire that readers should not take this paper as an attempt to sum up the subject of Satpanth in its entirety. This would obviously be possible only when its literature is thoroughly studied. Although various matters of a general nature had perforce to be touched upon, this paper is nothing more than it professes to be, — namely, notes helping to approach the specimens which have been translated.

An important point should be properly noted. In my analysis of various elements of the Satpanth system I had to proceed according to the usual critical methods applicable to such kinds of study, regardless of tradition. It is an indisputable fact that religious tradition generally is very little concerned with historical reliability, seeking in the past only for instructive examples, or vindicating certain religious or moral principles. This particularly applies to Satpanth with its Hinduistic basis. The Indian mind is notoriously unhistoric, and its polymeric and syncretic perception is aggravated by intense hyperbolism in expres-

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sion. It does not care for single years or decades, and measures the past by figures that are usually called "astronomical". All this, together with all the miracles which are narrated here, belong to the sphere of belief, of religious legend, not history. For those who have been brought up in this tradition such miracle stories may have great religious and sentimental value, but it should be realized that we here deal with that which may be abstracted from this in the way of plain and ordinary historical events. I therefore offer my profound apologies to those for whom the legends may be dear. Also I must warn every reader that opinions here expressed are my personal, W. Ivanow's, opinions and ideas for which neither the Satpanth community as a whole, nor its authorities individually are in the least responsible. I unhesitatingly admit the possibility of many of these ideas being ultimately proved erroneous, based as they are on my imperfect knowledge of the subject.

I have to acknowledge my feelings of profound gratitude to all those my Ismaili friends who offered me their friendly advice and collaboration in the compilation of this note.

1. *Notes on the History of Satpanth.*

Tradition concerning the origin of the Satpanth community is on the whole quite faithfully summed up in the *slokas* 75-97 of the *Jannatpuri*, translated here. This, of course, is not history based on facts but religious legends which care little for chronology and the correct perspective of events. I have not yet found any direct indication in the *gnan* sources that *Pîr* Shams, who is, in fact, supposed to be the earliest Persian missionary, was the same person as the son of the last *khudâwand* of Alamût, Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh (d. ca. 656/1258), or had anything to do with the associate of Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî, Shams-i Tabrîz. It seems, however, that this is silently admitted by the *jamât*. The spirit of the doctrine clearly shows beyond any doubt that the Ismaili element in the Satpanth was the later form of the post-Alamût Nizari Ismailism of Persia.

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In my paper on the sect of Imamshah (pp. 28-45) I have already shown how fictious are the available genealogies of the *pîrs*. All of them seem to be of a very late origin, and are designed to serve two different purposes, namely, to dissociate the promoters of Satpanth from Ismailism, while, on the other hand, prove that the *pîrs* were the descendants of the earliest Imams. In order to achieve this purpose the authors of such genealogies had to give up the theory that Shams was the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, and make him the descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl through a different line. All this, as far as it is possible to see, deserves not the slightest credit from the historical point of view as it is entirely unsupported by any evidence. We come to a more or less historical ground only with Imâm Shâh and his father, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn of Uchchh, who flourished towards the very end of the ninth/fifteenth c. and beginning of the tenth/sixteenth. It is obviously at this period that the maximum of Persian influence was experienced by Satpanth, through direct contact with the Imams, to which many allusions are contained in the *gnans*. The question whether the *pîrs* really formed a kind of a dynasty or a spiritual "line", or that this is merely an aberration of failing historical memory, cannot as yet be solved. Unfortunately, biographical and historical information concerning these saints is hopelessly insignificant.

It is characteristic of the *gnan* literature that it makes Uchchh (or Unch, Onch, as it spells it) and Multân the main scene of the activities of its heroes. These places, in what in early Middle Ages constituted the Upper Sind, but is now Western Panjâb, had a much longer connection with Ismailism than the short memory of the popular tradition accepts. As is known, Sind was occupied by the Muslims under Muḥammad b. Qâsim ath-Thaqafî, under the instructions of Qutayba b. Muslim, of Khorasan, in 92/711. The centre of administration was Multân. It may be noted that Sind, due to its geographical position, was the portion of India which always made first contact with

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the West. Leaving aside the still mysterious period of the Mohenjodaro civilisation, even in historical times it was periodically invaded from the West. It was for some time occupied by the Persians under Darius I, then later was passed through by Alexander's forces, still later invaded in turn by the Scythians, Ephtalites and Eastern Turks, and ultimately by the Muslims who penetrated it apparently through Sijistân and Makrân. The early history of Muslim rule in Sind is little known, but it appears that by 257/871, at the time when the Abbasid caliphate entered its last stage of decay, Sind was one of the earliest examples of a province which became de facto independent. It became split into two separate states under local Arab rulers, one with Manṣûra, about fifty miles from the present Ḥaydarâbâd, as its capital, and the other with Multân (which, however, at the time occupied a site slightly different from the present one). Soon after this the rulers of Multân became Ismailis, and, as it is possible to see from the Ismaili sources which now gradually become accessible, recognised the sovereignty of the Fatimid dynasty of Qayrawân and later of Cairo. It is difficult to see when exactly the change had taken place, but it is possible that Ismaili propaganda was started at a very early date in Sind. A very valuable indication is preserved in the *Sharḥu'l-akhbâr* (composed about 350/961) by the great Fatimid jurist Qâḍî Nu'mân (died in 363/974). He quotes the lost *Sîra* of Manṣûru'l-Yâman, or Ibn Ḥawshab, who, as is known, was in 266/880 sent from Kûfa to the Yaman as a missionary. He settled in 'Adan (Aden) where there already existed a considerable Shi'ite community. He married the daughter of the head of their community, a certain Aḥmad b. 'Abdi'l-lâh b. Khulay', and later sent his nephew, al-Haytham, as a *dâ'i* to Sind. The latter was the first man who carried propaganda there on his, i.e. Ibn Ḥawshab's, behalf (therefore, in addition, there were other *dâ'is* already working there). "He converted a large number of people, and the *da'wat*, i.e. Ismaili community, exists there to this day (i.e. about 350/961). It has come into the open (*ẓaharat*), consolidated its successes, and

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has overcome resistance (*qaharat*) under his successors. It was a great success, to the glory of God''.

An extract from an epistle of caliph al-Mu'izz *li-dîni'l-lâh* (341-365/953-975) is quoted in the *'Uyûnu'l-akhbâr* by Sayyid-nâ Idrîs. It is addressed to Ḥalîm b. Shaybân, the chief *dâ'î* of Sind. It is apparently the same person as Jalam b. Shaybân, mentioned by al-Bîrûnî [1] whom the latter regards responsible for the destruction of the famous temple of the sun god in Multân [2].

This was the situation before the raids undertaken by Maḥmûd of Ghazna which were accompanied by much slaughter, rape and plundering, and which temporarily brought Sind under the domination of the Ghaznawides. We may note that Sind was by no means the only ''island'' of the Fatimid domination in the East. Nearby, South of Kirmân, in Jîruft, which at the time had an outlet to the entrance of the Persian Gulf, and thus was on the sea route from Sind to the West, wild Baluchis (or Kufṣ, Kufj, Kufich) regarded themselves as the subjects of the Fatimid caliphs. Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî (d. *ca.* 411/1020) corresponded with the *dâ'îs* who ruled there [3], and the famous Nâṣir-i Khusraw, who later on travelled there on his return journey, also mentions this in his *Safar-nâma*.

[1] E. Sachau's translation of the ''India'', vol. I, p. 116. I am indebted to Prof. Mḥd Shafî' for his drawing my attention to this passage.

[2] The destruction of this profitable asset of the rulers of Multan may be due not to senseless fanaticism but the necessities of the propaganda which could hardly recognize such compromises. It is not impossible that this act was dictated from headquarters in Cairo. Sayyid-nâ Idrîs, in his *'Uyûnu'l-akhbâr*, quotes various epistles (*sijillât*) of the early caliphs which in his time were probably still being preserved in the community, but which, except for a few, were lost later on.

[3] His *al-Ḥâwiya* (cf. ''Guide'', no. 132) was sent in 399/1009 to Jîruft, to the local resident *dâ'î*. Another work of his, *al-Kâfiya fi'r-radd 'alâ'l-Ḥârûni al-Ḥasanî*, was addressed to Kirmân, to 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Mâzinî, perhaps the same person, because Jîruft was at the time capital of the Kirmân province.

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When the Ghaznawid rule rapidly degenerated, the Ismaili leaders, who obviously were thus not completely exterminated, again seized authority, and quietly ruled the province for more than a hundred years till the final conquest of Sind by the Ghurides in 571/1175, when a Turkish slave, Nâṣiru'd-dîn Qubâcha, was appointed governor. This change was accompanied by a more thorough slaughter and destruction, and the Ismaili movement had to go underground.

Although early history of Sind under the Muslim rule is deplorably vague, and information concerning religious movements in it is not easily available, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Ismailis were not alone in spreading their ideas there. The new colony, as usual, attracted a motley crowd of adventurers, certainly of the most varied religious complexion. There are indications that even the Druze heresy which sprang up under al-Ḥâkim (386-411/996-1021) in Ismailism, apparently soon spread also in Sind [1]. Possibly the Qarmatians of Baḥrayn also had a following there [2].

[1] Even in a small collection of religious treatises such as that forming the sacred literature of the Druzes, described by de Sacy in his "Exposé", two items are connected with India, more particularly with Sind, testifying to the fact that they had their followers there. The treatise no. 61 (vol. I, p. CCCCXCI), *Risâlatu'l-Hind* (also called *at-Tadhkâr wa'l-Kamâl*) is addressed to the community of Ḥamza's followers in Multan, more particularly to a certain Ibn Sumâr Râjâ-bal. The other, no. 103 (p. DIX), *Manshûr ramz li-Abî'l-Khayr Salâma*, contains a discussion of various matters amidst which al-Muqtanâ, the author, refers to a certain obnoxious enemy whom he calls ash-Shayṭân al-Hindî. It is quite probable that the latter was also connected with Sind.

[2] As is known, no accurate and reliable information concerning the religion of the real Qarmaṭians, i.e. the *Qarâmiṭa* of Baḥrayn, is so far available. From all that we know about their activities, organisation, etc., it is difficult to believe that they could afford to carry on propaganda on a large scale. Having made themselves hateful to everyone by their depredations and ruthless brutality, they made their name a term of abuse which was generously poured upon all Shi'ite sects which showed even a minimum of common features in their

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We may believe that various shades of Islamic heterodoxy were represented in Sind where they could spread more easily than in more Islamized provinces. This probably accounts for the fact that immediately after the Ghurid conquest, with the instalment of strictly orthodox Sunnite rule with its Turkish outlook, Sind became covered with a remarkable variety of Sufic organisations. Even long centuries have not entirely obliterated all traces of this immense wealth of Sufic sentiment. Numerous shrines scattered there still bear witness to the former devotion, and even today Sufic life is not yet completely extinct there. Although much labour, time and money have been wasted on the study and printing of various theoretical works of Sufism, repeating sweet and pious but entirely insipid ideas of the official "high-class" Sufic doctrine, it cannot be disputed that we still know little or nothing about Sufism as it really was. Its centre of gravity was certainly located in its elusive popular forms, the cult of popular saints, and certain heterodox ideas and practices. In all probability it was not the case that various sectarians, to conceal their persecuted ideas, "translated" them into some kind of standardised "Sufic language". The process, as it still continues to trickle even now, is spontaneous. It consists of the heterodox authors giving vent to their feelings on general matters, moral ideals, and so forth, adopting the Sufic manner of expression as a ready model. And then, entering into he spirit of Sufic symbolism, they would, either intentionally or not, smuggle their prohibited ideas in a symbolical form. The immense difficulty in dealing with such conventionalized relics of interesting sects lies in the necessity of knowing beforehand what is their aim, to what

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tenets. Thus we find "Qarmatians" spoken of practically all over the Muslim world. Although, with trade relations between Sind and the Persian Gulf ascending to times immemorial, there is nothing improbable in the possibility of the presence in Sind of isolated *real* Qarmatians, or even their colonies, at the period, it is perfectly certain that the Ismailis, the followers of the Fatimid caliphs, who had nothing to do with the genuine Qarmatians, were deliberately classed with the latter.

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they allude. Otherwise the student may be sure to pass blindly even the most transparent allusions. As an example the well-known poetry of Nâṣir-i Khusraw presents many striking instances of this.

Sufic guise was successfully used even in ordinary life by Satpanth *pîrs*. To this day "Shams Tabrez", as they call *pîr* Shams in Multan, Ḥasan Daryâ (Ḥasan Kabîru'd--dîn) and Ḥâjî Ṣadar Shâh (*pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn) near Uchchh, all are revered as Sufic *pîrs*, believed to belong to the most uncompromising Sunnite persuasion.

Returning to the history of Satpanth, it is necessary to note that its own tradition regards as the earliest *pîr* the saint whose name is preserved as Sat Gur Nûr, i.e. "True Teacher Light", and whose shrine is in Navsari. Some miracle stories are preserved about him in the *gnans* : he comes to Navsari, where makes temple idols dance, bring water, etc., then marries the daughter of the local king (almost invariably an item in the programme of saints' activities); he often leaves his body to wander about "in spirit", turns into a green parrot, and so forth. In short, he presents a fine specimen of a jogi of high training. We may therefore be surprised to learn that popular tradition makes him the same person as the grandson of Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq, Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl. The latter, born *ca.* 120/738, after the death of his grand-father (*ca.* 147/765) left his native Medina for the East, where traces of him disappear. The date of his departure is variously given, and generally there is nothing certain in his biography, but in any case the change from a Medina Arab aristocrat to a Gujrati jogi, no doubt, requires much strain on the imagination. Moreover, the learned Satpanthis mention the date of Sat Gur Nûr's death as 487/1094 (which is, in fact, the date of the death of al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, the Fatimid caliph) thus attributing the saint with a longish life of 367 years We may therefore legitimately relegate all these details to the sphere of miraculous and believe that all these stories were concocted probably some 150 years ago, when one of the branches of the Pîrâna Sayyids established them-

Pir Sat Gur Nur In Navsari

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selves in Navsari, making use of a half forgotten local shrine of an early saint.

The next *pîr*, in reality apparently the greatest of them in popular tradition, is *pîr* Shams. He also appears as a figure resembling powerful Indian jogis or rishis. Generally speaking, amongst various ideals of saintship, in true Indian style, Satpanth has much admiration for the type of the primitive powerful shaman, or medicine-man, who, either by the caprice of a deity, or by his personal attainments, acquires immense magic power obeyed not only by living beings, but even by inanimate nature. It is such a great contrast with Persian Sufic saints who follow the Hellenistic-Christian pattern of the enlightened and morally perfect philosopher whose principal attainment is great love for humanity. He walks about amongst suffering mortals, by his wise advice curing the sinful souls from the ills to which they subject themselves. He rarely condescends to the performance of theatrical miracles, and chiefly acts in the spiritual sphere. Quite different is the primitive shaman type of saint. He is jealous of his prestige and extremely dangerous to deal with. For a trivial offence, at which the Persian Sufic saint would merely smile, he will not hesitate to make use of all his immense powers to avenge. He would even move the sun to burn the whole population of a city in which some stupid men treated him as an ordinary stranger, permitting their superstitiousness to cause him an inconvenience. Such a terrifying variety of saintship, however, attracts the imagination of illiterate masses. The popular variety of wandering darwishes, *qalandars*, always bears the permanent epithet of *zabardast*, i.e. severe, cruel. Their method of begging for alms was not to propitiate the donors, but to frighten, intimidate them. Stories in which admiration for the saints of this type is expressed are full of instances in which they take the law into their hands at the slightest provocation.

Tradition about *pîr* Shams is extremely instructive as a substantial accumulation of folklore motifs in which various features of this mentality come up prominently. It is a

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product of a very long period, and an exceedingly complex precipitation of the most heterogeneous layers. There is, of course, almost nothing in the way of history of real events around which the legend had developed. Most probably the nucleus of the myth really belongs to Sind, or Multan, which plays the central part in the story. It may be noted, however, that the association of the Multani Shams with Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, and, in his turn, the association of the latter with Shams-i Tabrîz, the friend of Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî, the author of the famous *Mathnawi*, "the Coran in the Persian language", added to the myth features clearly derived from Christianity. Thus a "Sind to Qonya" legend was produced which, as it seems, really incorporated various folklore motifs and religious relics of many nations residing between those extreme points. Stories about Shams are extremely popular amongst the darwishes of Persia and even much further Westwards and Northwards, especially his — so-to-speak — masterpiece in miracle working, the bringing down of the sun. Such a complex agglomeration of influences makes it very difficult to reach a definite conclusion as to the real origin of the myth.

Starting with the more easily identifiable elements, namely Christian, we may point out the fact that in Persia, where many stories are narrated about the saint, he appears to be the son of Rûmî's own daughter and is supernaturally born without a father. Rûmî finds a human scull on which it is written that it was the cause of the death of some people, and will cause the death of more (also a well-known folklore motif). Rûmî wants to destroy it by pounding it to powder, but his daughter mistakes it for a medicine, eats it, and becomes pregnant with Shams, etc. A striking parallel is found in Ali-Ilahi legends in which Mâmâ Jalâla, the daughter of Mîrzâ Ma'nâ, a virgin, conceives from a particle of light descending from the sun, and gives birth to the incarnation of the Deity, Shâh Khûshîn [1].

[1] Cf. V. Minorsky, "Materials for the study of the Persian sect of the Peoplè of the Truth or Ali-Ilahis" (in Russian, Moscow, 1911), pp. 19 sqq.

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Shams brings fried birds to life, just as in the apocryphal Gospel of Infancy, and so forth, and ultimately flees, accompanied by Rûmî, to Multan, walking over the surface of the sea. He instructs Rûmî to repeat "O Shams". Rûmî, however, overhears Shams saying "O 'Alî", repeats this himself, and instantly begins to sink. Shams rescues him, reproaching him for wanting to understand 'Alî while he has not yet even understood Shams[1]. There are many variants of the proceedings dealing with the bringing down of the sun, but here again we have ample stock of stories from the Ali-Ilahi sources in which moving the sun, playing with it, etc., are attributed to various incarnations of the Deity[2]. In fact, Ali-Ilahi legends are solidly associated with the solar myth, and its typical symbolism (white falcon, eagle, etc.) so that it may even appear as if the miracle of Multan was not the original element, but an importation from the West. [Only the fact that Multan was an ancient seat of the sun cult, the place of the famous temple of the sun god, etc., makes one hesitate in unreservedly taking it for an alien motif so far as India is concerned.]

Satpanth literature furnishes us with certain dates concerning Shams, but it would hardly be necessary to argue that all of them are based on pure fantasy. The most interesting reference is the positive statement in the *gnans*

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[1] Walking on the surface of water, or even playing polo on it, is frequently mentioned in the stories of the miracles worked by the Ali-ilahi avatars. Cf. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 41 (Shâh Khûshîn plays polo on the surface of the sea); p. 57 (Qirmizî plays polo on the surface of the Sirwân, or Diala, river), and so forth.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5 (Sulṭân Ṣuhâk promises to reverse the course of the sun); p. 12 (Qirmizî, sitting on the hill Dîza (*Sang-i Dîza*), makes a sign to the sun to come down, and plays with it as with a ball); p. 23 (the baby Shâh Khûshîn plays with the sun which comes down to pay homage to him); p. 48 (Sulṭân Ṣuhâk, as a child, reverses the course of the sun), and so forth. The sun, as is known, plays a prominent part in the beliefs of the Nusayris of Syria; a branch of them is even called Shamsî because they believe that 'Alî resides on the sun.

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to the effect that Shams was "Keshavpuri of Multan" [1]. In fact, a temple of that Hindu saint, whom the Hindus regard as the performer of the miracles concerning the bringing down of the sun, is situated within some two miles' distance from Multan. I visited it in 1933, but found no one capable of telling me more of the saint and literature in which his story is narrated. It is therefore an interesting question whether Shams was the adaptation of a Hindu original, or the latter was a case of accomodation of a Muslim saint in Hinduism.

Another interesting reference is the exceptional case in the *gnans* in which a date is associated with a certain miracle of Shams, namely the Samwat year 1178, "the month was Kartik, and the day was Vad Amas (Wednesday)" [2]. This corresponds with 1122 A.D., or 515-516 A.H. The *Shajara* [3] says that Shams was born in Ghaznî on the 17th Rajab 560/30-V-1165, and came to Multan in 598/1201 where he died in 675/1276. Miracles are narrated in which Shams comes in touch with another Multan celebrity, the famous Sufic saint, Bahâ'u'd-dîn Zakariyâ Multânî (d. 665/1266).

Until some reliable reference to Shams, as a historical figure, is found, it is obvious that all such dates are useless to us. It seems, however, that the earlier ones are more credible than the later because these are obviously influenced by the theory of the identity of Shams with Shams-i Ta-

A Hindu Idea

[1] See Translations, story "*c*", *sloka* 4. *Keshavpuri* may be used as a personal name; in Sanskrit it means a worshipper of Krishna, the Krishnaite. There would be nothing impossible in the suggestion that perhaps the miracle of bringing down the sun was originally credited to the Hindu saint, Keshavpuri (in connection with sun-worship in Multan), but later on the myth was transferred to the Muslim saint Shams who was identified with Keshavpuri. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain such a strange fact of duplication.

[2] See Translations, II, story "*d*", *sloka* (50) 25. Such suspicious precision and remarkable "historicity" in the context is obviously nothing but a poetical device which surely inspires no confidence.

[3] See my paper on the sect of Imamshah, p. 28.

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brîz, the associate of Rûmî. The *Shajara*, which is an obvious concoction, fully accepting such identity, however, makes Shams live till 675/1276, while at the same time placing his birth still *before* the Ghurid invasion of 571/1176, by disproportionately stretching his period of life. As a matter of personal opinion, I would therefore to be more inclined to accept the earlier dates as nearer to the truth. This, however, brings us to a series of questions. If Shams was originally a product of the ancient *da'wat*, before the Nizari campaign, why was that ancient period so completely forgotten. Of course, in some Garbi songs he almost appears as a genuine Hindu ascetic with only general leanings towards Islam. But, on the other hand, in the story of his bringing a boy to life we may note that he acts in an entirely Muslim milieu, and generally, in his miracles, appears as a Muslim, at once recognizable to the Hindus. The most interesting, and perhaps in a way genuine relic of the past is the story of his converting local Hindus to Islam, appointing a religious headman over them, and instructing them to pay tithes to a certain treasurer [1]. All this is very much in consonance with the methods of early Ismaili missionaries. Various details, of course, could have been added later on, but popular fantasy would hardly deliberately invent the methods so different from those of later times if there was no tradition of the earlier ones.

It is quite possible that in the myth of Shams we have

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[1] See Translations, II, story "c" which is extremely interesting, if we can trust its information. Quite in the style of the early Ismaili missionaries, the *Pîr* appoints as the head of the district a certain Vasta, a mukhi, i.e. the local head of the community, with the strange name Musafer, and makes Bhandara the capital of the district. The word Bhandara in reality simply means "treasury". Vasta is not a Hindu name, but obviously Arabic *wâsiṭa*, "connecting link", liaison officer, using the modern term. Musafer is certainly *musâfir*, traveller, and it is tempting to think that he was simply a travelling tithe collector. Perhaps in the earlier version of the story these names were meant as the appelations of ranks, but later on were mistaken for personal names.

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a relic of vague reminiscences of the ancient *da'wat*. After the Ghurid invasion and merciless extermination of the leading classes of the community, the groups and individuals that were able to survive the calamity probably never even dared to breath the name of Ismailism, and could not preserve much of its doctrine even under the Sufic cloak of their *pirs*. The name of Shams, soon afterwards coupled with the inocuous name of the bizarre saint, Shams-i Tabrîz, was probably deprived of many of its implications in the course of time, but later on much use of it was made by the missionaries coming from Persia who claimed to be the continuators of his work, and later on were made his direct descendants.

Naṣiru'd-dîn, the supposed grandfather of *pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, in a *gnan* is called the *farzand* of *pîr* Shams [1]. Why should the author use a foreign word for such an elementary idea as that of a son? It seems quite probable, therefore, that the term implies either "spiritual" descent, or perhaps a general idea of claiming Shams as an ancestor. Unfortunately for the student, nothing definite is known about the saint, or his supposed son and successor, Shihâbu'd--dîn, perhaps the same person as incidentally referred to in the *gnans* as Sahebdin. The next *pîr*, Ṣadru'd-dîn, or, as he is still known in the locality, Ḥâjî Ṣadar Shâh, is buried not far from Uchchh, near the village called Jetur. Apparently nothing has been preserved in the *gnans* of his biography also. The *Shajara*, which, of course, is completely unreliable, gives the dates of his birth and death as 689/1290 and 782/1380. His son and successor, *pîr* Abû Qalandar Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, or, locally, Hasan Daryâ, the father of Imâm Shâh, appears to have died in the last quarter of the ninth/fifteenth c. Probably with some right,

[1] Unfortunately, nothing can be ascertained about the date and biography of this worthy, and, as I was told, the *gnans* bearing his name are very few. It seems quite probable that as the last few *pirs* were really descendants of each other, such family relations were attributed to the earlier ones when memory of their biographies had evaporated.

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the *Shajara* gives the date of his death as 876/1471, and the *Manâzilu'l-aqṭâb* — 875/1470. The unreliable *Satveni-pvel* instead gives 853/1449, but that is obviously too early. On the whole we can easily see that the authors, trying to make *pir* Shams a physical ancestor of these *pirs*, and at the same time, the same person as Shams-i Tabrîz and Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, had to attribute quite unnatural longevity to various *pirs* [1].

Nothing is preserved about the biographies of these *pîrs*, and only vague reference to their visiting Persia, or even Badakhshân [2] are incidentally found in some *gnans*. Typically for such miracle stories, however, they dwell on all sorts of supernatural matters, not on historical details of the events. Ṣadru'd-dîn, who goes to Persia without taking with him his five year old son and future successor, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, is "punished" by the Imam by facing a "wall of iron", which (note the remarkable accuracy of the author !) appeared before him "on the 17th day of the month of Ashad of 1452 Samvat", i.e. 798/1396, while *pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn was marching accompanied by 120 *millions* of his followers. But the infant son of the *pîr* could already work miracles. He made a turban, 500 yards in length, and, wearing it himself also travelled to Persia. It is really remarkable that even at such a late date as that at which these *gnans* were composed, i.e. probably Akbar's time, or later, the learned authors did not restrain their fantasy in favour of historical sense.

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[1] Cf. my paper on the sect of Imamshah, pp. 33-34. A description of the present state of the tombs of the *pîrs* is also given there, together with photographs.

[2] There is a *gnan*, which has been translated for me, in which there is vague mention of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn's visit to Badakhshân. Unfortunately for the student, no details are mentioned. From what we may gather by way of information about events of that period, relations between the Ismaili centres there and the headquarters in Persia had been revived, and it is not impossible that some one, commissioned by the Imams, could have been sent to Sind and Badkhshan for dealing with various important matters.

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For some obscure reasons, *pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn was succeeded by his brother, Tâju'd-dîn, surnamed Shahturel, who, distressed by being wrongly suspected of some unfair act, committed suicide. His grave is in Shahturel, or Juŋ, in Sind, district Tandoo Bagho, near the station Talhâr on the Badin railway. The son of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, Imâmu'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Raḥîm b. Ḥasan, surnamed Imâm Shâh, is not recognized as a *pîr* by the Khojas. He went to Gujrat where he founded a new branch of the Satpanth community. Its history is dealt with in my paper, often referred to here, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat". According to the Khoja tradition, for reasons which are not mentioned, the Imam of the time appointed no new *pîr*, but instead of a *pîr* sent to the people of Sind a book, *Pandiyât-i jawân-mardî*. Such a book, by an anonymous author, really exists. It was composed, in Persian, apparently at the time of the Nizari Imam Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (II), who lived and was buried at Anjudân, a village within six farsakhs from Sulṭânâbâd of Persian 'Irâq. He died in 885/1480, or a short time earlier, and therefore his name fits neatly into the picture as that of the Imam of the time of Tâju'd-dîn. An abbreviation of the *Pandiyât*, phonetically transcribed in Gujrati letters, and accompanied by a Gujrati translation, has been printed in Bombay.

From the inner evidence, with which we are concerned in the section dealing with the doctrine, it is possible to suggest that the closest contact with Persia really falls upon that later period. The Timurid empire was rapidly collapsing, Shi'ism in Persia was raising its head thus preparing the way for the approaching advent of the Safawids. The headquarters of the Nizari Ismaili movement also began to show considerable activity after more than two centuries of life in concealment. The same Imam Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh was in communication with Badakhshân, and it is not impossible that the vague reference in the *gnan* literature to a *pîr*'s visit to that remote province might have very interesting implications.

In my introductory note to the translation of the *Fasl*

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dar bayân-i shinâkht-i Imâm (Bombay, 1947, the "Ismaili Society's" series), I have already suggested that perhaps this strange reversal of the earlier policy may be connected with an obscure reference found in that work (end of fol. 4 and beginning of fol. 4 v). The author, who, judging from various indications, wrote towards the end of the tenth/sixteenth c., mentions that "in these days the Imams entrusted the *hujjat*-ship to their own (*jismânî*) descendants." The impression which the sentence produces is that such a change had come only recently. Perhaps the discontinuation of the office of local *pîrs* really was connected with the new system of appointing a close relative as the only *pîr* for the whole community, and the handling of matters through special agents, *wakîls*, who merely acted as messengers. A book was probably sent therefore as a general instruction concerning the spirit in which devotion should be practiced.

2. *Propaganda.*

Islam, since its beginning, always remained a proselytizing religion, and even now has not entirely lost such tendencies. The speed with which it spread over large countries was unparalleled in history. Such countries were either those peopled with nations of a Semitic stock, or those which for long periods of time remained under strong Semitic influence, as in the case of Persia. In countries with a different cultural outlook, however, as in Europe, India and China, Islam had very little success, and only centuries of domination permitted it to make some headway in Southern India.

There were probably two main causes which impeded its success, apart from the profound difference of mentality. One was the remarkable absence of organisation in preaching. For the most part it depended on private initiative, whether peaceful, or violent, when religious purpose served as a cloak for plain predatory escapades. The legend of the victorious Islam offering conquered peoples the choice

Conversion

language of Arabic, Hebrew etc

Disguise

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between conversion or death belongs to fairy tales and historical hyperbolism. The main weapon of the conquerors was in fact economic pressure and the taxation policy, but even in this, as is well-known, such pressure was not exercised in an organised way. Contrary to this, there were any number of instances in history in which, for fiscal reasons, the central Muslim government artificially impeded the process, or at any rate discouraged it. It is really remarkable that while war for religious cause (*jihâd*) was prescribed as a religious duty of every able bodied member of the Islamic community, nothing was ever said of the propaganda of its ideas. The only branch of Islam in which the preaching of religion, *da'wat*, was not only organised, but even considered of special importance, was Ismailism. It must be noted, however, that the Ismaili *da'wat*, though religious in form, was mainly political in substance. Its aim was to unify the world of Islam in the recognition of the principle of Alid theocracy which was expected to secure not only religious, but also social and political advantages. Such propaganda could obviously thrive under the influence of two factors, — the positive in the form of religious zeal and enthusiasm of the preachers, and the negative, the hard conditions of the masses, economic distress, bad administration and acute discontent with the established order.

The impediment which belonged to the inner nature of the preaching of Islam was connected with its conservatism of forms. When the preaching started amongst the heathen Arabs, it was easy indeed to demand that they would learn the new forms of worship and accept the new scriptures in the Arabic language. Perhaps it was not so difficult in the case of the Semitic peoples who lived in close touch with the Arabs. But for those who had nothing in common with all this, such necessity constituted a serious obstacle both for the acquisition of the necessary familiarity with the religion, and for the final act of conversion. In fact, conversion to Islam demanded that the new convert should not only become a Muslim, but also — at least par-

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tially — an Arab. He had to switch his religious life to the new ideas expressed in a difficult foreign language, adopt foreign standards, ideals, and so forth. This, of course, was quite possible for individuals, but presented an almost unsurmountable obstacle to the masses in a different social system, as in the caste organisation in India. Here, with the individual being nothing without his caste connections, the only method that could work was mass conversion not of individuals, but of whole castes. This simple idea was probably never realized, and it is for this reason that not only the preaching of orthodox Islam met with less success than in other countries, but that many reformatory movements, such as those started by Akbar, Dara Shikuh, and others, failed miserably.

Either by intuition, or sound and clever reasoning, the Nizari Ismaili missionaries devised some methods which helped them to overcome such local obstacles. Such methods depended on two principles. One was their bold tactics in separating the meaning and spirit of Islam from its hard Arabic shell. The other was their concentration of effort on a few definite castes, or those strata of the depressed classes in which the caste hold was weaker than in higher ones. They explained the high ideals of Islam in the familiar terms of the ancestral religion and culture of the new converts, Hinduism, striving to make of them good *mu'mins*, sincere adepts of the spirit of Islam, rather than *muslims*, i.e. those who formally profess Islam, often without paying attention to its spirit and implications.

Mass conversion substantially differs in nature from individual cases. Tradition usually preserves the stories how a saint worked a miracle which, by its supernaturality, at once convinced either one or many unbelievers, and these gave up all their objections, and instantly became sincere and devout followers of the "truer" religion, as preached by the saint. This is how such cases should appear in iconography and hagiology. More authentic and non-standardised historical or autobiographical stories depict quite a different process of long internal struggle. The supernatural

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element merely plays the part of an accelerating factor, shedding the remaining doubts of the intended convert for whom the new religion has long since presented a great attraction. Nothing is so silly as the oft-repeated imaginary methods of conversion attributed to Fatimid *dâ'is*, who are depicted as gradually insinuating themselves upon persons of the most sincere faith, gradually inspiring doubts, and ultimately shaking their religious convictions, so seducing them into atheism and impiety. How many thousands of such extraordinarily clever, tactful and learned missionaries would be required to convert a Berber tribe, or the inhabitants of one Persian or Indian village ? How long would it take, and of what use would be a crowd of atheists and hooligans in the promotion of a purely religious movement ?

Surely, the conversion of masses, just as every phenomenon of social life, is rarely a question of personal initiative, or even personal conviction. It entails a thorough change in the outlook of the community concerned, and religious considerations, however inspiring and attractive, rarely outweigh economical, political, and other practical motives. We shall probably never know much about the development of the process, but if it is a historical fact that certain strata of the population of Sind were converted to Satpanth, we cannot disbelieve the circumstance that, in addition to religious attraction, the conversion was expected to bring with it certain practical advantages.

We have seen how great a part was played by Messianic expectations in the spread and history of the Ismaili movement in the more Western countries. So it was in India, even long after they were almost entirely given up in the original community. They constituted the "bridge" between Ismailism and Hinduism which permitted the new ideas to enter that entirely different world of Hindu mentality. It was the effort to make Islam recognized as the religion of the final period, Kalijug, according to Hindu terminology, promised in ancient prophecies. 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib, the first Imam, was introduced as the expected Tenth Avatar of the Deity. The Coran had to be the last

Coran = Kuran = Last Veda = Atharv Ved

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Ved, cancelling and abrogating the former scriptures, but, on the whole, continuing the same tradition of the periodical Divine revelation. 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib, however, was not the legendary religious hero who came upon the historical stage, performed his miracles, and disappeared. He was, so-to-speak, "continued" in his successor-Imams, the manifestations of the same Divine Substance [1]. The Imam, mysteriously residing in a very remote place in the West, was, of course, for the ordinary inhabitant of Sind, little more than an abstraction. The habitual outlook of the ordinary man brought up in the ideas of Hinduism could thus more easily approach the higher message of Islam and adopt a new and more advanced mentality.

As is well-known, Islam itself from its inception favoured historico-philosophic theories depicting the Divine Revelation as one single process. It started with the first man, Adam, who was at the same time the first great prophet, the Apostle of God. With the progress of humanity each successive Apostle brought a more perfect system of the Divine law and beliefs. In addition to these Apostles of God, great prophets, there were also not less than 124.000 minor prophets who at different times were sent to all the nations of the world [2]. In mediaeval India, in circles inclined to a compromise with the local ideas and conditions, a theory was commonly favoured according to which those whom the Hindus regarded as their gods or

[1] I have repeatedly drawn the attention of students to the fact that in the evolution of their dogma the Fatimids advanced and perfected the theory that the Mahdî, the expected Messiah, was a collective name for the succession of the Imams from the house of 'Alî and Fâṭima. Cf. the "Rise of the Fatimids", pp. 51, 122. It is difficult to ascertain, however, whether the old idea was taken as it stood, or re-discovered by an independent process of religious reasoning.

[2] Cf. also "The Alleged Founder of Ismailism", p. 131. It is interesting to note that in the *gnan* literature, quite systematically, no difference is observed between the ordinary prophet, *nabî*, and the apostle of God, *rasûl*. Besides, the number of these, for some reason, is invariably mentioned as 125.000, not 124,000.

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great saints were, in fact, some of those ancient prophets of God sent to their country.

The Ismaili missionaries were thus in line with the orthodox in this respect. They brought the matter a step further by proclaiming Islam the crowning phase of the whole development of Hinduism. According to them, the Coran (together with the *ta'wîl* system) was the last and final Ved, completing, abrogating and superseding the earlier revelation. In this theory Hinduism was merely a preparatory phase, just as Christianity, Judaism, etc., in the revelation of the only True Religion, Satpanth.

Kuran = Final Ved= Atharv Ved

Thus, from a purely Islamic view point, the method of bridging the difference between Islam and Hinduism adopted by Ismaili missionaries was perfectly correct, in no way conflicting with orthodox ideas. The question might only arise cocerning certain important details. The original Islam, including early Ismailism, emphasises that the Prophet and the Imams, though chosen by God for such an all-important mission, were, nevertheless, ordinary mortal men, differing from others by their superior intellects only. This superior intellect at later times became more and more divinized, and under the influence of various philosophical and mystical theories became a kind of Divine Light, consubstantial to the Divine creative act symbolised by the Coranic (or Biblical) story of God's uttering the word "be", and so forth. Being Divine, this substance, manifested in the Prophet and the Imams, was thus imperishable and eternal, and the theory was developed that it always remains in one particular line of the first Imam's descendants, supernaturally transferred from the father to the son. Still further development of the theory produced its extension upon the past. An uninterrupted line of the Imams must not only be in existence now, and in the future, but also must have been in existence ever since the creation of the world, and even before it. In the top-most abstract forces, such as the Creative Will and Intelligence of the Deity, there cannot be any division, or partition. Therefore it would be no exaggeration or perversion of the truth to state

Divine Light

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that the same force which constitutes Imamat was responsible for the creation of the Universe, and thus that the first Imam, 'Alî b. Abî Ṭ'âlib, and after him the Imams in general, were identical with the Creator[1]. Thus, logically enough, in the terms of the Hindu theogony, 'Alî is the continuation of the line of Avatars, i.e. visible manifestations of the Deity, the Creator.

This idea, stripped of both Islamic and Hinduistic theological associations and details, may be too simplified, but it shows, I hope, with sufficient clarity the process by which such apparently incompatible outlooks as Muslim and Hindu could be synthetized and combined into one religious theory. It would be natural to expect, from the Islamic point of view, that the highest place would belong to the Prophet himself, not the Imam. But in this there is no internal contradiction. We may realize that Shi'ism and the cult of the Imams was probably due to the incidental circumstance that the Prophet had left no male posterity.

Islam and its culture are synthetic products of immense complexity. The comparatively few leading religious ideas recognized as genuine and legitimate by the theologians never existed or else they developed in a kind of a vacuum. In reality they thrived and at every moment were in one way or another influenced by the milieu of the earlier beliefs, ideas, superstitions, customs, and so forth. Many of these, as is well-known, possessed great driving force, although continuously opposed by the consensus of the purists. Amongst such unorthodox ideas we know many, and can identify their origin, while there probably still remain many which elude identification.

In the instance of the Nizari post-Alamût theories, and also certain features of popular Persian Sufism, we can easily

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[1] A modern writer, the late Shihâbu'd-dîn Shâh (d.in 1885), in his *Risâla dar Ḥaqiqat-i Dîn* (pp. 33-34 of the autograph) mentions a clever simile to explain the mentality of the divinisation : the light that emanates from the lamp (*churâgh*) is not the lamp itself, but if there were no light, how could one know whether there is a lamp, what and where it is ?

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identify a group of ideas, forms of worship and beliefs which are plainly alien to the orthodox Islamic theories. It is not easy in the present state of our knowledge, however, to see where we should trace the source from which they were derived. We find numerous parallels in such widely differing ethnic, linguistic and social groups as the sects of Ali-Ilahis of Kurdistan, Nusayris of Syria, and Tantric cults, more particularly those of the worshippers of Shakti in India, in addition to avowedly mobile and wandering darwish organisations. It looks as if there is, after all, a mysterious connection between all these[1]. The Tantric cults are believed to be the remnants of the ancient, pre-Aryan religion of India, gradually submerged, modified and partly re-modelled by orthodox Hinduism, the religion of the invaders. It is usually supposed that the pre-Iranian population of Persia largely consisted of the peoples of Dravidian stock, remnants of which are still preserved in the Brahui tribe of Baluchistan.

It is true, as there are many references in the works of Muhammadan authors, that already in historical times, there was a big influx of the people called Zuṭṭ, apparently of Dravidian stock, from Makrân. They settled at many places in Mesopotamia as far North as Khâniqîn, and were

[1] It is unfortunate that up to now we know so little about the religion of the Nusayris who carefully hide it from everyone. Coming in contact with this people, however, one may gain the impression that it would be unreasonable to expect from their doctrines much more than from that of their neighbours the Druzes. Generally speaking, from what we already know, it is easy to recognize a certain common basic unity in the ideas of the Nusayris, Ali-Ilahis, Druzes and Satpanthis. This is the doctrine of the manifestations or avatars of the Deity in human form, and, to an extent, belief in re-birth. Although it is difficult to accept in its entirety the theory of R. Dussaud concerning the origin of the Nusayri sect (in his "Histoire et Religion des Nosairis", Paris, 1900), it seems obvious that his basic thesis of these beliefs being the survival of pre-Islamic times, and their adaptation to the Muslim outlook, is perfectly correct. The same plainly applies to the Druzes, Ali-Ilahis, and others.

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always remarkable for the strong Shi'ite sentiment which they developed ever since their conversion to Islam. This, however, may have an explanation of economical and social character. Besides it is neither possible to see what these Zutts really were racially, nor whether they played any part in the development of Ali-Ilahi ideas.

Persian darwishes show remarkably strong ties with similar organisations in India, chiefly in Sind, and it is quite possible that certain ideas could have been imported through such channels. It appears, however, that such importations should have been made at an early date.

All this in a complex combination probably produced the common ground on which the propaganda of the *pîrs* could develop. We know nothing, as was mentioned above, about the developments under the regime of the early Ismaili *dâ'is*, and their proselytising work amongst the Hindus. The late Nizari propaganda, judging from its nature and the meagre information we can sift out of legendary tradition, developed at a late date, obviously the Timurid period. At that time Islam was "in the air" all over Sind; its principles and chief ideas were probably familiar to a very wide strata of purely Hindu population. The *pîrs* obviously had no need to break virgin soil, and their main problem was probably to find some means of rendering the process of transition from Hinduism to Islam, especially in the case of various discontented elements in the Hindu society, as easy and smooth as possible. This problem they have solved with remarkable tact and intuition, with very limited means at their disposal welding two cultures into one, and laying the foundation to a new cultural group which in itself bore the seeds of further great progress and potentialities. From the point of view of the customary standards and methods of Islamic propaganda their methods may at first sight appear strange and even questionable. But a closer study reveals sound logic and genuine enthusiasm on their part. "Dis-Arabicized" (if such a term is permissible) Islam is nevertheless Islam, and if its ideas do not conform with the highest standards of Muslim theology, it is because the milieu among whom

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it spread were illiterate masses, entirely alien to the cultural outlook in which Islam originally developed and grew up. Illiterate masses even after a long association with Islam, as is well-known, could preserve and even develop new beliefs often of a very questionable orthodoxy.

3. *Notes on the Doctrine.*

As has been already mentioned above, it would be preposterous to attempt to offer a general summary of the Satpanth dogma and practice before its literature is properly studied. All that may be offered here is a few explanatory notes which perhaps may be useful to the reader by drawing his attention to certain points.

The most important point, however, should be the advice to exercise patience and restraint in the discovery of various "influences" in the doctrine. We must not forget even for a moment that this religion is of a very late origin. Its ingredients, i.e., the elements which composed that unique combination, both Islamic and Hinduistic, themselves had a very long evolution, absorbed many influences, local modifications and adjustments to new conditions. It would be no exaggeration to say that we probably know even less about mediaeval popular Hinduistic beliefs than we do about their Islamic corresponding numbers.

There is no doubt, indeed, that the form of Islam which has given Satpanth a final touch was Persian Nizari Ismailism of a very late date. But, surely, it was by no means the only form of Islamic ideology which went into the melting pot. Mediaeval Sind was not only the land of Islam, of the orthodox beliefs, but also to a very great extent the land of the Sufis, of varied leanings. As Sufic organisations surely stood incomparably nearer to the non-Islamic rural population than the learned theologians of the cities, we must expect, and really do find, many traces of Sufic influences.

Not being a specialist on Hinduism, I cannot take upon myself to discuss the extent to which Tantrism influenced

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Satpanth. If Tantrism, especially the cult of Shakti, was the autochthonous religion of pre-Aryan India, particularly associated with the Dravidian population, it would be necessary to ascertain how far it was spread in Sind. As is known, the province in which it is particularly common is the opposite side of India, namely Bengal. There is also another question, which perhaps may sound very paradoxical: are those practices which look very similar to Ali-Ilahism genuinely old? There is a general tendency to treat everything in Hinduism as coming from immense antiquity, a tendency which is by no means reliable in every case.

1. *Cosmogony*, it seems, remains entirely Hinduistic, with all its mythological elements, hyperbolism, "astronomical" figures in the calculation of periods, etc.

2. *God*, as the Creator and Supreme Ruler of the Universe, despite mythological Hindu names, appears to be a purely Islamic idea, contrary to the system of the cosmogony. Significantly, Satpanth chiefly uses foreign terms to express the idea: Persian term *khudâ*, rarer Allâh, and only much more rarely the Indian terms Ishvar or Parmeshvar. Equally, the basic idea of the Creator is chiefly rendered by the Arabic (through Persian) *Khâliq*. Bhirma, the Hindu term, is rarely used. The idea is somewhat vague, however, because the *gnans* do not enter theological discussions, and because the idea of God is very closely associated with that of the Imam.

3. *Imâm*. As has been mentioned above, the idea of the Imam here appears in its later Nizari form, as the Manifestation of the Divine Light, i.e. Divine Intelligence and Creative Will. The Satpanth Imam bears closer resemblance to the Christian Jesus than to the Hindu Parmeshvar. As a purely Hinduistic feature, everywhere in evidence there is that characteristic vagueness, or rather "blurredness" of the ideas. It is by no means easy to discern the difference in the attributes of the Supreme Deity, the *Imâm*, and the *Pîr*, just as in Hindu speculations such distinctions between the Supreme God, the Brahman, the

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sacrificed offerings, etc., are all, intentionally or otherwise, rendered imperceptible.

The Imam, who is technically termed *Shâh*, or *Nar*[1], residing in the mysterious countries of the remote West, in strict disguise, and continually "reviving", in the sense of the transfer of his powers from father to son, was obviously little more than an abstraction for the ordinary member of the community. Although the usual hyperbolism of the *gnans* makes some *pîrs* visit him, in company with something like 120 millions of followers at a time, nobody could possibly take this literally, seeing in the abnormal number merely a sign of devotion and piety on the part of the author.

12 Crore = ૧૨ કરોડી

4. *Guru*, or *Pîr*. Just as in Hinduism, the most important participant of the Divine Substance becomes the *guru*, or *pîr*[2], the term obviously derived from Sufism, and standing instead of the post-Alamût Persian term *ḥujjat*. I have already emphasised elsewhere the fact that late Nizari Ismailism of Persia in a striking way repeats the earliest theories of Ismailism, only promoting each rank to the next highest. The Imam becomes divinized, the *ḥujjat*, or *pîr* takes the functions of the early Imam, and the idea of the

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[1] *Nar*, Sanskr. *nara*, means man or male, in religious context obviously in the sense of lord, master. It may be generally noted that such terms appear in the *gnans* in the form in which they are used in modern Indian languages, in which, especially in common speech, they may undergo considerable phonetical changes, e.g., Sanskr. Prahlad, the name of a mythical king, may become Pelaj. I have deliberately retained the original forms, even in the cases of the terms, such as Ved = Veda, in which the later form has become already familiar to the general European reader. For the sake of simplification I refer the reader, unfamiliar with Hindu mythological names, to the most accessible and popular work, the "Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, etc." by J. Dowson (fourth edition, 1903), here abbreviated as "D."

[2] The term *guru* which is already familiar to the general reader in Europe, here appears in various forms as *gur*, *gor*, *gur-ji*, *guru-ji*, *sat-gur*, *sat-gor*, *sat-gor-ji*, meaning religious guide and teacher.

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hierarchy of dignitaries, already given up in Persia, becomes atrophied [1]. The religious and political aims which the *da'wat* organisation had to pursue became obviously unattainable under the changed circumstances, and Nizari Ismailism became the religion of personal salvation, just as other forms of Islam.

The *Pîr*, who is the "door", *bâb*, to the Imam, is of paramount importance, because without him no one can attain the knowledge of the Imam, and God. As in Christianity and some other religions, the ordinary mortal is incapable of comprehending the Divine nature, and this could only be done by one who participates in the Divine substance. Thus the Guru becomes a parallel to Christ, consubstantial to God, and yet born as a mortal. He is thus a link between God and man, really the "door", *bâb*, of the Imam, without whose guidance and instruction all efforts of the individual may remain futile and fruitless. The most remarkable feature of this doctrine is the disregard of the earlier institution of the *da'wat* hierarchy which formed the channels through which the Imam's (later the *Pîr's*) instruction should flow to all sections of the community. Strangely, no such apparatus is ever mentioned. The *Pîr* is everything, but it does not require much imagination to see that he can directly guide a comparatively very small proportion of the whole *jamât* [2]. It seems that there is no arrangement for those individuals or communities who for various reasons are deprived of the possibilities of coming

[1] Cf. the introduction to my translation of the *Faṣl dar bayân-i shinâkht-i Imâm* ("On the Recognition of the Imam", "Ismaili Society's" series, no. 4, Bombay, 1947).

[2] In this respect Satpanth strikingly resembles early Islam before it developed the class of professional theologians. In Satpanth, however, I am informed that owing to the unfavourable conditions, such class never came into existence. The *bawas*, or members of the *pîrs'* families, otherwise called Sayyids, were expected to possess necessary learning, but by no means always actually did. Anyhow, they probably never made any attempt at systematisation and proper formulation of the dogma and principles of the doctrine.

Sayyid Family

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into personal contact with the *Pîr*. Satpanth knows no priests[1]. The head of the community in every place is the local *mukhi*, or headman, whose functions are rather those of a honorary magistrate and president of the parish. He is assisted by his *kamaḍiyā* (pronounced *kamriyā*), who is the honorary secretary and treasurer, and has no religious functions whatever. These dignitaries are not supposed to carry out any instructional duties. Such duties are often relegated to special functionaries, apparently corresponding with earlier *dâ'îs* of different ranks. It is also remarkable, however, that not only is the term *dâ'î* never used, but it even had never been replaced by a proper term derived from the Indian languages. Formerly he was called *bhagvat*, which really means "devotee, ascetic". Now the English term "missionary" is in use.

The Satpanth tradition makes the *pîrs*, at least the last five, form a dynasty. There are, however, apparently no dogmatic reasons for *pîr*-ship being hereditary. During the Fatimid period there were, or at least were expected to be, *always* 24 *ḥujjats*, promoted from the ranks of talented and efficient *dâ'îs*, surely not on account of any hereditary

[1] In my paper on the sect of Imamshah, often referred to here, I very frequently had to mention the *kâkâs*, whose part always appeared to the Sayyid party as harmful and noxious. Although they must remain celibates and are under various restrictions in life, they are not priests in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather representatives of the interests of the converted community intended to serve as intermediaries between it and the Sayyids, and restrain the latters' encroachement on the rights of the congregation. They most probably are the relic of the remote past when Ismaili missionaries could not deal directly with the community, but had to appoint their representatives through whom they communicated with the people. In the course of time the *kâkâs*, by force of circumstances, became the centres of Hindu reaction against the Islamizing tendencies of the Sayyids, which were carried sufficiently far to make the latter to dissociate themselves from Satpanth and Ismailism and claim to be either Ithna-'asharis or Sunnis, while, at the same time, retaining, most paradoxically, their position as spiritual heads of the community.

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rights. The late Nizari doctrine of the *ḥujjat* as a supernatural "witness" of the Imam's identity, the only speaker on his behalf, was, as has been mentioned above, accompanied by the practice of the dignity of the *ḥujjat* being conferred only upon the Imam's closest relatives[1]. It is, however, obvious that the new practice by no means implied the post being hereditary. After centuries of merciless persecutions, the Ismaili community in Persia most probably had shrunk to a great extent, and no longer required any complex organisation for its control. We know nothing as to how the Imams of that period generally exercised their control and guidance of the communities in such remote corners as in Sind, Badakhshân, etc. In the Satpanth community tradition is preserved that the Imams kept their relations with their followers through special emissaries, *wakîls*, while the community itself used to send its representatives to the Imams when need arose. The custom was established according to which such persons had to receive special certificates (technically called *daresh*), testifying to the fact that they really had visited the Imam[2].

In connection with the doctrine of the *ḥujjat* or *pîr* it is not out of place to mention also that the usual prototype of the super-human dignitary of this rank, Salmân-i Fârsî, so popular in Persian Nizari texts, is entirely forgotten here. He was a national religious hero of the Persians, and the Indians obviously had no special interest in him. Instead of Salmân, as also amongst Persian darwishes, a far more prominent place is occupied by Qanbar, a Negro slave of 'Alî, who is only rarely referred to in early works on Shi'ite tradition.

5. *Dogmatic system.* Satpanth, it seems, does not possess a properly formulated creed, or even formula of the profession of religion. It seems that its dogmatic principles have never been elaborated and systematized. The *gnans*

[1] See above, p. 19.

[2] These were obviously introduced for the same purpose as the certificates issued to the pilgrims to Mekka on the completion of their *ḥajj*.

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contain a profusion of exhortations to piety, offering of prayers, paying the *dasondh*, or tithe, but it seems that all this has never been properly arranged in a systematic way. There are collections of advices on how to live a righteous and pious life, as in the well-known *So Kiriya*, translated in this collection. All this, however, has nothing to do with religious law, *sharî'at*, as a system. It may be noted that while living under the government of various Muslim principalities, and, at the same time, forced to preserve their caste organisation, the Satpanth community solved the problem by following Muslim custom in some matters and Hindu custom in others. For instance, marriage and burial were performed by Muslim mullas, but in matters of inheritance the community preserved Hindu practice.

Strangely, the *gnans*, as far as I could ascertain, never enter into discussions of abstract theological matters, on the lines of the Muslim works on *'aqâ'id*, or Ismaili literature of *ḥaqâ'iq*. There is, however, a powerful stream of interest in ascetic practices, according to Hindu style and with the use of Hindu terminology.

6. *Eschatology*. In eschatological ideas, more than in any other branch of the doctrine, it seems, two currents, Islamic and Hinduistic, are struggling in the Satpanth beliefs. The *pîrs* apparently found it impossible to uproot the ancestral outlook of their Hindu converts, based on the belief in immortality of the soul, and re-births in accordance with the Karma theory. The idea of re-birth, as is well-known, was not entirely alien to ancient Greek philosophers, to the Coran itself; in the *Ummu'l-kitâb* it is openly recognized, being apparently developed without any Indian influence. In Ali-ilahism and Nusayrism it is also accepted, though in a different form. Thus, in a purely Hindu way, it is believed that the soul is gradually purified, and ultimately becomes saved, in the sense that it no longer belongs to the "wheel of re-birth", and joins the Divine Infinite. At the same time the *gnans* often discuss Paradise, hurries, etc., in a fully Muslim style, make all this located on a certain Heaven, and the faithful are promised

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they shall stay there eternally, "ruling as princes", i.e. probably living blissfully as princes on earth. They are promised immortality, although both in Hinduism and Islam the soul is regarded as immortal. The *Jannatpuri*, translated here, gives a wealth of interesting details of such Indo-Islamic ideas. Here Paradise is independent of the Hindu Paradise, the mount Meru. The hurries (*hurân*) are pictured on the model of temple hierodulas, *devadasis*, and everything is obviously taken from the actual practice of their profession. An interesting addition, however, is that Hindu deities and ancient heroes are admitted there for their piety.

Hell, obviously supplementing the "wheel of re-birth", is also superimposed upon Hindu theories. Therefore it is not entirely certain which method should be taken as the standard. Such ambiguity is eloquent testimony to the struggle of opposite currents in the evolution of Satpanth, that of Islamisation, and of the Hindu reaction. The term Nirvana is not used, and salvation is expressed with the term *mukti*.

7. *Worship*. As in all popular religions the central point in religious life is occupied by worship. Satpanth is determinately iconoclastic in its tendencies and outlook. Prohibition of idolatry is the most prominent motif in the *gnans*, accompanied by admonitions arguing that idols are made by man and possess no power. Such attitude implies a complete dissociation from Hinduism in which idol worship cannot be separated from the usual daily worship. On the other hand, Satpanth has not adopted the Muslim *salât*, obviously on account of its Arabic form. The *pîrs* steered midway by introducing and developing the Sufic form of prayer, *dhikr*, pronounced *zikrā*. The numerous converts from lower classes also have probably brought in various details connected with the Tantric cult, which is supposed to be a relic of the ancient local religion of pre-Aryan India, as has been mentioned above.

Contrary to orthodox Hindu worship, which is based on the individual, and intercession of the priest, Satpanth

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knows no priests, and its prayer is congregational, in which even women and children also participate. In Hinduism such features are exhibited only in Tantric cults. Such prayers take place three times a day in Satpanth, namely morning, evening, and before going to bed, in a special praying hall, called *jamât khâna*. At such meetings any one, young or old, may be appointed by the *mukhi*, or headman, to recite the prayers. The most interesting detail is the distribution of sacred water from a vessel in which water is either mixed with clay of Kerbela, or with water blessed by the Imam. Thus this is a kind of communion, and as such it is conceived. In the *gnans* this ceremony, called *ghaṭ-pâṭ*, literally "table (in) assembly"[1], is particularly regarded as a symbol of conversion and participation in the religious life of the community.

Jamat Khana

Meaning of Ghat-pat

In addition to the distribution of sacred water, on certain occasions a kind of solid vegetable food, *jure*, is distributed. Some particular *gnans* are recited on various special occasions[2].

There is no secrecy about all this, and although spectators are not encouraged, they are by no means completely excluded with a rigidity similar to that amongst the Ali-Ilahis and Nusayris who never admit any one who is not a member of the community.

Communal drinking of consecrated water, or whatever it may be, or partaking of consecrated food, is a custom of

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[1] It is interesting to note that certain terms connected with the worship in Satpanth are *not* of Sanskrit origin, and are not found in Hinduistic literature. One of these is *ghaṭ* which is explained as an equivalent of *jamât*, i.e. Ar. *jamâ'at*, community, and is used in the sense of the congregation and its meetings for prayer. Another is *pâval* which means consecrated water. *Pâṭ* is a low table on which the vessel holding consecrated water is placed. The combination *ghaṭ-pâṭ* thus is used to denote the religious gathering of the faithful at which consecrated water is distributed.

Paval

[2] Such extraordinary occasions may be some general calamity, epidemic, and so forth, or, on the contrary, some auspicious event.

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immense antiquity amongst all races and nations, accepted as a symbol of bond between the members of an assembly, party, gang, etc. There is no ceremony of this kind prescribed in orthodox Islam, but various customs including such Eucharist are in use amongst Persian darwishes. It is the *piyâla* which is offered at the initiation of the darwish into the *ṭarîqat*. This institution is supposed to have been introduced by the Prophet himself, on the night of the *Mi'râj*, under the "blue cupola without doors". He offered it to the mystical *chihil tan* ("forty bodies"), symbols of Sufic fraternity, crushing a piece of raisin in a bowl of water[1]. Thus it plainly symbolizes the religious bond of a confraternity.

A similar ceremony is used by the Ali-Ilahis who, however, usually distribute cooked food, prepared from a sacrificed cock or sheep. The darwishes also have the same custom, *dîk-jûsh*. We may note that the most Satpanthis are meat-eaters.

Similar customs are used in India by the followers of the Tantric cults. At such ceremonies both men and women are present. After various prayers, milk, wine, meat, honey, etc. are distributed, also obviously to symbolize the bond of unity. It is said that in the cult of certain secret Tantric sects of the Vamachara branch[2] on specific occa-

[1] The fact that raisins, and no other fruit, are used for crushing in the water is quite significant by itself. It obviously indicates that at a certain time in the past wine was originally used for the purpose, but later on was substituted in this way under the pressure of Muslim ideas and taboos. Wine itself in various religions was most probably in sacraments a substitute for the blood of the sacrificed animals, banned with the advance of civilisation. The use of wine, an exotic product in India, in Tantric rites deserves a special note. I could not find, however, what is really meant by "wine", — the real grape wine, or generally an alcoholic drink.

[2] The worshippers of Shakti, as is well-known, are divided into many sub-sects which are grouped either under the "Right hand" or "Left hand" divisions. The differences between these, I was told, are in fact trivial. Amongst the "Left hand" sub-sects (Vamachara) those which keep their ceremonies and even

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sions one of the men present at the ceremony, as a part of the worship, copulates with a woman. This detail is not in keeping with other ceremonies which consist of partaking of some food or beverage. I therefore feel inclined to give credence to what I heard from some informed people that the performance of the couple is merely a means of obtaining a quantity of sperm which is dilluted in water and distributed to the faithful[1]. Now, as they say, with advance of education, this ceremony became rarely enacted and sperm is symbolically substituted by some other liquid.

An interesting feature is the terminology. The old term for consecrated water was *ami*, now replaced by (Persian) *âb-i ṣafâ* (water of purity). In old *gnans*, however, it is called *pâval*, a term not of Sanskrit origin, unknown to orthodox Hindu literature. It would be very interesting to trace the origin of the term, and the history of its association with the Tantric cults.

Ami=Paval

An interesting *gnan*, though obviously not of an early origin, preserves a significant story of the reason why animals are no longer immolated for the sacramental food. During different ancient epochs various animals were sacrificed, such as elephants, horses, and so forth. By a prayer of the assembly these animals were miraculously revived by God, but on a certain occasion their prayer remained ineffective, and thus the practice came to an end. This legend apparently has far reaching implications. We

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beliefs secret are more numerous. There is a work specially devoted to the Worship of Shakti, namely "Shakti and Shakta", by J. Woodroffe (Madras and London, 1920), but it is utterly disappointing. The author, obviously an over-enthusiastic theosophist, expends all his energy on efforts to persuade the reader how nice, sweet, wise, correct and attractive the ideas of the Shakti worship are, forgetting to draw the line between what he learns from the literature of the sect and from reliable observation. He even forgets to add an index. This may be in true theosophic style, but is deplorable from the student's viewpoint.

[1] The Shakti-worshippers refer to the tradition that Vishnu said: "I am contained in sperm".

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may remember the Jewish injunctions against breaking the bones of the sacrificial animal. The Ali-Ilahis and Persian darwishes at their *dîk-jûsh* ceremonies do not break the bones of the animal, carefully collect them, and bury with the rites intended for the burial of human beings. This detail apparently forms a trace of the earlier idea of a vicarious sacrifice. Should we think that originally, in remote antiquity, such sacrifice was human ?

It is quite possible that in India the disappearance of animal sacrifice was due to the continuous pressure of orthodox Hindu ideas, and, of course, also the influence of the change in economics, with the growth of prices.

8. *Initiation.* In various *gnans* conversion is mentioned on comparatively numerous occasions, but, unfortunately, few details of the rites accompanying it are given. There was apparently no special formula to be repeated, or taught to the neophytes. Their explicit desire to accept the new religion was sufficient, they received a special *dhikr*[1] (''*zikrā*''), and were urged to participate in the daily worship (*ghaṭ-pâṭ*). Neither circumcision, nor any fixed period of apprenticeship, are mentioned. I was told that at the present time conversion (or rather the ceremony of the initiation, admission into the new religion) is accompanied also by a symbolical act, obviously implying the fact that the new convert becomes loyally bound to the rules and duties imposed upon him. The person who converts the neophyte dips a finger into consecrated water and passes it around the wrist of the convert, as if drawing the image of a bracelet[2]. The *dhikr*, given to the neophyte, should be kept secret and not revealed to others.

It must be added that the conversion to Satpanth by

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[1] This is usually called the ''High Name'' which is explained by the all-Muslim *Ism-i Aʿẓam.* It is often referred to in the *gnans*, but apparently it is never plainly stated what it really is.

[2] This is called *kânkan*. The ceremony, corresponding with the *bayʿat* in other branches of Ismailism, is called ***kangva.***

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no means implies admission into the caste. According to Hindu ideas one can only be born into a caste, not transferred from another community.

4. *Satpanth literature.*

Satpanth literature can be defined as "popular", and almost entirely consists of either hymns expressing devotion and piety, or relating instructive miracles of various saints, appeals to be pious, moral advices, religious legends, and so forth. It never developed learned theological study, interest in the history of the community, the real art of controversy and refutation of false doctrines, as we see in Muslim general literature. It is polyglottic, using six different languages : Multani Panjabi, Sindhi, Kachchhi, Hindi, Gujrati, and Maratthi. We may believe that its earliest productions were composed in Sindi and Multani, but, while spreading to other provinces, these became translated into local dialects. It seems to be a difficult task to trace which of the existing *gnans* are original, and which are translations, but in the case of those in Gujrati and Maratthi there can be little doubt that they are fairly modern renderings of the earlier ones.

Tradition, probably with much right, relates that originally the *gnans* were preserved only in oral transmission. Later on they were reduced to writing. Apparently there never was such a thing as a complete collection of the whole literature, and no libraries except for small private collections. Under the continuous threat of persecution books had to be kept in secrecy, and this not only discouraged their being copied but, in the conditions of the Indian climate, always exposed the manuscripts to the attacks of worms, white ants, damage by dampness, and so forth. Piety itself was no less destructive. For instance, I was told that when about three decades ago a certain collection of the *gnans* was printed, the manuscripts from which the edition was prepared were *buried* in the ground ! It is extremely difficult to say whether there are any old manuscripts in

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existence, possibly in private possession, but on the whole this seems very doubtful.

Who the persons were who translated the *gnans* from one language to another, when they lived, and what principles they followed, — all this remains unknown. The tone of many *gnans* (although it is difficult to prove this beyond doubt) suggests that great latitude was allowed by some translators in the rendering of the original. Perhaps even the names of the *pîrs*, and especially Imams, referred to in the text, were adjusted to the time of the translator. The very manner of these poems and versified stories of miracles often evokes considerable doubts as to what really the appellation "the *gnan* of the *pîr* so-and-so" should mean : is this the *gnan* BY that *pîr*, or ABOUT him ? In the majority of cases the latter is obviously the case, and it seems there is no doubt that the poems were composed perhaps much later than the saint with whom they deal. It is interesting that some of these are themselves polyglottic, and contain verses (*slokas*) in different languages.

On the whole the style of these poems is purely Hinduistic, with the use of the traditional rules of Sanskrit poetics. There is, however, a strong current of influence of Persian poetry in them, in the form of certain details. Such are the usual references to the author (often merely alleged), as the *takhallus* in Persian *ghazals*, enclosed in the last verse, or, more rarely, a reference to the Imam of the supposed author's time, as the *mamdûh* in Persian *qasîdas*. We may note, however, that, contrary to Persian usage, both are mentioned in immediate proximity. On the whole there are many stereotyped expressions and topics, together with monotony in the contents, but some show certain primitive, "runic", pathos and poetical inspiration.

Here again a striking resemblance appears with Ali-Ilahism. The Satpanth *gnans* probably find their closest parallel in the *kalâms* attributed to the inspiration of various saints or incarnations of the Deity. The difference is only that the Hinduistic atmosphere, terminology, mythological references, and generally Indian elements have to be re-

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placed by the spirit of the tribal feuds and warlike adventures of the Kurds, Lurs, Turks, etc. Even such a detail finds its parallel in both as polyglottism : Ali-Ilahi *kalâms* are composed in various Kurdish, Luri and Gurani dialects, and in Turkish, and sometimes one and the same piece contains quotations or lines in a different language. It is unfortunate that not only have the *kalâms* never been collected, but even to this day only an insignificant part of them is known. Therefore it is impossible to follow the parallelism of the *gnans* and *kalâms*, and trace the difference in their style. Such a comparison probably would be interesting.

It appears as if collections of the *gnans* are divided into groups associated with this or that *pîr*. Some form a cycle of stories of his miracles, as, e.g., in the case of *Pîr* Shams. Other collections are of mixed contents, and isolated *gnans* appear belonging to the authorship of saints of whom nothing is known. Many *gnans* are anonymous, and there is neither a key to both authors' names nor to the period to which they belong.

In my paper, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat" (JBBRAS, 1936, pp. 23-24) I have already given a list of works of the *gnan* literature according to the association with various saints. In the form in which it is now preserved amongst the Bombay Khojas it is almost entirely in Gujrati, probably having been translated a long time ago. Antiquated Urdu is also used. Again I may emphasise the fact that the association with a certain *pîr*, as Shamsu'd-dîn, or others, very often does not in the least imply the *pîr's* authorship. The style of the poems very often makes it impossible to believe that these have been composed by his contemporaries or disciples. For the convenience of the reader I here repeat the same list with a few alterations.

Pîr Shams : 1. *Sloko moṭo*, a larger collection of miracle stories. 2. Garbi songs (translated further on). 3. *Mansamjâṇî* (Sufic, on the knowledge of self). 4. *Bharam Prakâsh* (on knowledge of God). 5. *Kathâ Râjâ Govar-*

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chand (instructive story). 6. *Vâyak moṭo* (on ethics). 7. *Hans Hanslî* (religious legend).

Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn : 1. *Sloka nâno* (a smaller collection of the *gnans*). 2. *Buj Nîrânjan* (Sufic discussions). 3. *Girbhâwali* (the story of the creation of the world). 4. *Ârâdhna* (prayers). 5. *Vinodh* (lamentations). 6. *Gâvantrî* (another story of the creation). 7. *Khaṭ Darsan* (six pilgrimages). 8. *Khaṭ Nîrînjan* (six invisible worlds). 9. *Atharv Ved* (an imitation of the *Attharva Veda*). 10. *Sûrat* (on physiognomy). 11. *Budh Avatâr* (the ninth Avatar). 12. *So Kîrîya* (100 moral principles, translated further on). 13. *Das Avatâr* (the Satpanth version of the well-known Sanskrit religious work. It exists in two versions, full, *moṭo*, in abbreviated, *nâno*. Further on the tenth chapter of the shorter version is translated).

Pîr Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn : 1. *Aṇant Akhâro* (on eschatology, life after death). 2. *Vel* (a collection of *gnans*). 3. *Bharam Gâvantrî* (story of creation). 4. *Nav Chhugâ* (nine appeals to the Imam). 5. *Hasna Purî* (description of Paradise). 6. *Samvad Pîr Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn wa Kânîpâ Jogi* (instructive story).

Imâm Shâh : 1. *Jannatpuri* (translated in full further on, an instructive journey to Paradise). 2. *Satvarṇî Moṭî* (miracle stories about the Imams). 3. *Naklank Gîtâ* (legends of the avatars of the Imams). 4. *Jugeshvar Abdu-nâ Gnân* (Sufic). 5. *Mur Gâvantrî* (story of creation). 6. *Parb Pândav* (story of the Pandavas). 7. *Sî Ḥarfî* (thirty moral rules). 8. *Atharvedî Gâvantrî* (on the incarnations of the Deity). 9. *Bâvan Gâṭi* (description of Hell). 10. *Momen Chetwânî* (stories of miracles of *pîrs*, etc.).

Nar Muḥammad Shâh, the son of Imamshah who was proclaimed to be an incarnation of the Imam. 1. *Satvarṇî* (legendary history of the Fatimid Imams). 2. *Satvenî-ji Vel* (on various rites, stories of Imams and *pîrs*).

Short *gnans* have been edited in six volumes or parts, each containing one hundred of these, and in addition, selections in groups of 25 or 50 have also been repeatedly printed. Sometimes groups of the *gnans* attributed to va-

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rious saints have been printed, as has the *Manhar*, a collection of *gnans* on the subject of asceticism, by Ghulâm 'Alî Shâh whose grave is in Keyra, Kachchh, and others.

Almost all these have been printed in Bombay, in Gujrati, both in the Gujrati script and in Khojki. It does not seem easy to ascertain how much is still omitted and has not been printed of the *gnans* that may be found in manuscript. All this printed material, it may be hoped, will be critically revised, systematized, collated with the manuscripts which have not yet been destroyed, and a reliable and easily usable edition prepared.

Here we may briefly review the works which have been wholly or partially translated in this volume.

1. *The Garbi Songs of Pîr Shams.* The cycle of the 28 Garbis[1] attributed to the authorship of *Pîr* Shams has been translated in full here. As it is easy to see, in reality it forms a continuous narrative into which instructive utterances of the saint have been fitted. The story, whether based on fact or fiction, relates the miraculous conversion of the people of Analvad (most probably the ancient town Anilvad in Gujrat, not far from the modern Aḥmadâbâd) by Pîr Shams. Arriving at the celebrations of the Norta, i.e., the nine days preceding the Hindu festival of Dasera, the saint mixes with the Shaktî worshippers, engaged in the dances in honour of Mata Bhavani (a name of Shaktî), dances with them, and sings his own songs, preaching the Satpanth doctrine. It is not easy to believe that the poems have been composed by the saint himself because it would be strange that he should praise himself, quote his own words, and so forth. As the songs are in Gujrati, it is more

[1] The *garbi* is the wooden or masonry stand in the temple compound intended for holding lamps lit on certain festive occasions, accompanied with religious dancing, in honour of various deities. From this the name *garbi* is also applied to the religious songs which are sung on such occasions. The term is used chiefly in Gujrat, and seems to be unknown in the Deccan. The songs of *Pîr* Shams are called *garbî*, of course, quite conventionally : in fact, they should be called *anti-garbî*, as intended to oppose the original *garbis*.

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than probable that they were composed at a much later period by someone whose name has not been preserved. It is not so apparent why and how the story has been divided into 28 poems, each forming a separate item, with its own *refrain*. Apparently no clue exists as to the real date of its composition, and it would be not surprising if the cycle is really the product of a comparatively modern period of time.

It is also impossible to ascertain just how far the doctrine preached in the story really reflects the ideas of *Pîr* Shams as a historical person. One may feel inclined to accept his name here being used arbitrarily, simply as that of an early missionary of Satpanth in general. The basic principles on which this propaganda rests are the same as in all other poems of this kind. They are the objection to idol worship, and generally Hinduistic theories, and an appeal to recognize Islam as the crowning phase of the peoples' earlier beliefs, joining the Satpanth *jamât*, congregational prayers, and belief in 'Alî and his descendants the Imams as a collective last avatar of the Deity.

2. *Miracles of Pîr Shams.* These are extracts from larger hagiological works dealing with the miracles of the ancient *Pîrs*. Some of these, such as the story of the conversion of the tiger and pigeons, bear striking resemblence to similar Buddhist and Hinduistic stories. Others, such as the conversion of the Hindu pilgrims by making the holy Ganges to flow before them, belong to Indo-Muslim folklore. Such stories are in fact repeated probably about almost every Indian Muslim saint of note. As a testimony substantial bundles of strings, supposed to be Brahmanical cords of the higher caste Hindus, are shown at shrines, such as those of Lâl Shâhbâz at Sehwan, Pîrâna, etc. The most miraculous fact in such miracles, however, is that these strings, exposed to the elements and believed to be centuries old, usually look quite fresh and new. The motif of the angry saint's locking of the gates of the town seems to be rare. The story preserves valuable details such as the descent of the celestial cow to be milked for the communion of the new converts and the *Pîr's* instructing the raja by whis-

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pering to him the "High Name". The story of the revival of the dead boy is of a distinctly Sufic origin. Such revival figures in many darwish tales, usually with the use of the Arabic formula by which the hero effects the revival : *qum bi-idhn-î* and which has been omitted here obviously owing to the general ban on Arabic, but is plainly implied in further developments.

3. *The Fourteen Jewels of Pîr Shams.* Although it is impossible to prove it in either way, the impression is that it is highly improbable that these golden rules have anything to do with an ancient period.

4. *The Gnans.* There are several hundred separate short poems to which preferably the term *gnan* is applied, although the same term is used in a wider sense, implying all kinds of the sacred Satpanth literature, just as *Saranjâm* of the Ali-ilahis. They are undoubtedly the product of collective genius, and the names of their authors are very rarely known, as in no. 9, which seems to be perfectly genuine, dating from the end of the XVIII century. Here a few specimens have been selected for the sake of their being associated with various *pîrs*. Such association, as it seems, in the majority of cases is purely illusory, as the name of the saint is merely included for the author's expression of his devotion to him. Such poems, as far as I could see, show predominantly moralizing tendency, and rarely possess the features which are lacking in others.

5. *Das Avatâr.* As mentioned above, in the Satpanth literature there are two versions of the work, the longer and the shorter one. Without proper study it is impossible to say what connection they have with their Sanskrit prototypes. The authorship is attributed to *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, and if the reference to "Shri Salâm Shâh" as the Imam of the time is genuine, and really refers to 'Abdu's-Salâm Shâh of Anjudân, who died in the end of the IX/XV c., then it must be a fantasy. It is also strange that an eminent Sufic *Pîr* such as Ṣadru'd-dîn should say that the mother of 'Ali ibn Abî Ṭâlib was "Bibi Julika" (i.e. Zulaykhâ). Tradition is quite definite on this point, and gives her name as Fâṭima

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bint Asad b. Hâshim. The identification of Fâṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, with Shaktî, probably is nothing but automatic parallelism : if according to these theories 'Alî is the avatar of the Deity, Fâṭima, as his wife, should be an avatar of Shaktî (the wife of Shiva). In this specimen only the tenth Avatar is translated, from the shorter version.

Bibi Fatima = Shakti = wife of Shiva = Parvati = Uma = Umiya Maa

6. *So-Kiriya*. Another work attributed to the authorship of *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, equally evoking doubts, is the collection of 100 moral and other advices to be followed by those who want to attain salvation. I could not discover whether there are versions of it in Multani or Sindhi, but I was lucky enough to trace a Maratthi version which is also published further on in this volume for the purpose of comparison with this one, which is in Gujrati. Many questions arise at the perusal of this work. The first concerns the genuineness of the preface and epilogue, because they for the most part simply repeat what is already contained in the main work. These are the same vague and monotonous exhortations found in all *gnans*, and especially in the works of the type of the "Fourteen jewels" attributed to *Pîr* Shams, mentioned above.

It is hard to believe that at the time of *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, i.e. not later than the middle of the IX/XV c., so many prescriptions were needed referring to financial transactions. They form seven per cent of the whole lot. Some of these are rather strange, such as that which prohibits buying goods on credit or borrowing money. Surely rural followers had not much use for advice against forging money documents, accepting as security for a loan something of doubtful origin, running away with someone's money, creating difficulties in the payment of a debt, living on the earnings from usury, etc. All this would rather suggest the needs of a trading community in the town. The great majority of the advices are the usual moral precepts of being good, polite, faithful, etc. Comparatively few deal with family and social life. It is probably implied that these are regulated by old customs against which one is powerless to fight.

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Some advices, such as that recommending avoidance of the sick, are noteworthy. Quite a number seem to be amazing : do not eat while walking ; do not leave unconsumed food in the vessel from which one eats ; do not eat what is left by others ; do not eat garlick and onions ; do not disapprove of food prepared from corn, to mention only some.

Some prohibitions are common with Hinduism, such as the selling of bones, or the animals which one keeps, or the wearing of cloth died with indigo. Music, dancing and theatrical performances are prohibited, although in Hinduism they are prohibited only to brahmacharyas (students of theology). Various other prohibitions are probably based on old magic beliefs. The most interesting, however, is the prohibition of chewing tobacco (which in fact forms a part of the "pan" which all Khojas eat). This prohibition, — unless it is a later interpolation, — as connected with tobacco, could not have been introduced before at least the beginning of the XVIIIth century, perhaps even much later, when the evil had spread considerably. Thus there is no question of the authorship of *Pîr* Ṣadru d-dîn.

The Maratthi version, under the name of *Shiksha-Patri*, differs in the preamble and epilogue, testifying to the fact that these portions are not original. The text is almost identical with the Gujrati version, and appears to be ascending to the same source. For the purpose of versification both versions are filled with what may be called the "metrical ballast", which, of course, is bound to differ with the language of the version. The appeals to the "ascetics", "hermits", etc., by which ordinary people are meant, is nothing but a form of the hyperbolism with which this religious poetry is permeated. All this is striking for its primitive lack of systematization, absence of perspective and proportion.

7. *Jannatpuri.* This Satpanthi parallel of Dante's immortal poem, the *Divina Comedia*, is attributed to the authorship of Imamshah himself, but we have every reason to doubt the genuineness of this assertion. The principal reason is that Imāmshah, the founder of the Gujrat branch of

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the sect, a man of such "steel" energy and consistence as he appears in the *Jannatpuri*, could not have written so absentmindedly and incoherently. As we may see from the analysis of the work, it most probably is the result of repeated renovation and alteration by a number of authors who paid little attention to what Imamshah himself had said. Even if he wrote an account of his journey to Persia, nothing remains of it. Someone in his moralizing zeal simply used the fact of Imamshah's journey to Persia as a pretext for writing his own fantasy on Paradise and eschatology in general.

It seems highly probable that Imamshah really travelled to Persia for the discussion of the community's affairs. We have seen above (pp. 18-19) what the situation was with the growing revival of Shi'ism and the decay of the Timurid power. This apparently also caused considerable changes in the policy of the Nizari Imams as is hinted in various contemporary sources. It is also probable that the discontinuation of the dynasty of the *pîrs* in Uchchh might have been directly connected with changes in the general world situation. The remoteness of their *see* from headquarters made them in fact almost completly independent in their actions. The author of the *Jannatpuri*, whoever he may have been, is so full of this idea that he does not even raise the question of Imamshah asking for the investiture from the Imam, as the supreme lord. Instead, he simply asks him to permit him to go to Paradise to see his father, obviously because in the opinion of the author the appointment of the successor depended on the deceased *pîr* only.

In my paper on the sect of Imamshah in Gujrat I have already drawn the attention of students to the fact that, as it may appear, the custom was probably quite well established that the *pîrs* were usually succeeded by their *youngest* sons. Tradition makes Imamshah the youngest son of Hasan Kabîru'd-dîn. It would be difficult to believe that all this fuss, including the journey to Heaven, was raised simply for the sake of a share in the inheritance of ordinary moveable or immoveable property. Obviously the "share"

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meant the right of succession, or the headship in a subdivision of the *see*. It is unfortunate that we know nothing about the biographies of the *pîrs*. The extraordinary insistence of Imamshah shows that he had a strong case, and we really see that he in fact is recognized as a *pîr* by various branches of the Satpanthis except for the Khojas who accept Tâju'd-dîn, the brother of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. It is not impossible that Tâju'd-dîn was appointed in accordance with the instructions of headquarters in Persia, contrary to local custom which by that time had already become well established, and Imamshah in reality found many supporters, to which fact the sentimental story with his expulsion from the *jamât-khâna* perhaps alludes.

The poem generally is full of strange gaps in the narrative which seems to be incoherent because the author forgets to mention essential matters while losing himself in trivial details, whether deliberately or due to the lack of talent and experience. It may be admitted that probably much has been sacrificed to the established standard, literary *cliché*, as in these stories of the sufferings of the saint, or his being unrecognized, the motif which appears in almost every second story about these saints. To the ordinary man it would appear absurd that a person who had undertaken a long, extremely difficult and dangerous journey to see the Imam, and having reached his destination, would not report himself, but play hide and seek with the employees of his master. In our sophisticated times all this seems so childlike, but probably appealed to the reader and devout admirer of the midle ages. We may admire the religious mentality for which the word of the *pîr*, as the Jannatpuri is intended to be, entirely divorces the subject from all unalterable laws of logic, commosense and feeling of reality which are so completely disregarded in all these stories of miracles.

Analysing the *Jannatpuri* simply as a literary production, we can see that its main part is the second, namely the description of Paradise, and the exhortations to piety which will help one to be admitted there. The first part, which is disproportionally long, and is filled with irrelevant

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matters, is merely intended to explain how Imamshah had found an opportunity to visit and see the place, to make such fantastic experience natural and, if such a term may be applied to such matters, "realistic".

The story opens with the account of the happenings at the burial of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn at Uchchh, when the disinherited son of the deceased, Imamshah, suddenly returns and presents his claims. As pointed out to me by Mr. P. V. Kane, a specialist in Sanskrit literature who had kindly read through this translation, the situation closely resembles that of the son of Manu, familiar from various ancient Sanskrit works. In both cases compensation is derived, so-to-speak, from supernatural sources. The date of the event given in the poem, 1575 Samvat (i.e. 925 A.H. or 1519 A.D.) seems to be rather too late. From what we know about Imamshah he himself died about that date, after a long career in Gujrat.

The "consolation gifts" from the dead body, in the form of a rosary and a piece of sugar, mentioned here, have not consoled the hero. The author does not take the trouble either to explain their symbolism or the reasons for the hero's dissatisfaction with them. From the point of view of the logic of the story this is an important omission. But the author does not even mention the hero's decision to go to Persia. For this reason the reader only later on realizes why Imamshah goes to Sind. But the author, or one of the authors, finds great delight in reporting the hero's trivial inconveniences caused by the rudeness and hostile attitude of the people in the villages that he visited, — a feature of life which is by no means extinct now. From the *sloka* 27 the action is apparently taking place in Persia. Imamshah arrives at a place called Bhom where he wants to have the *dîdâr* of the Imam, Nûr Shâh, as he is called, probably not by his real name, but a honorific title. It is needless to mention that there is no such place in Persia called Bhom. The nearest approach would be Bam, a town in the province of Kirmân. As at that period the Imams perhaps were really connected with that province, probably

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residing in Shahr-i Bâbak, there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that one of them might have stayed in Bam in some official capacity [1].

Here Imamshah applies to the servant of the Imam called *mukhî* Ghulâm. But *ghulâm* itself means servant, and is used in personal names only in combinations such as Ghulâm 'Alî, G. Ḥusayn, G. Nabî, etc. Very interesting details of this contact are noteworthy. The Imam, receiving the report of the arrival of a Khoja pilgrim asking for the *dîdâr*, tells his servant to put him up and provide necessary food. We may note how the servant does this. He sits down, sews a scull-cap, goes to the market, sells it, and by the money thus earned buys some food which he brings to the guest. It is not clear whether this detail is meant to emphasise the poverty of the Imam. The absence of any hyperbolic mention of the beauty of his palace, or something on these lines, may suggest that this really was so.

The *dîdâr* is further on described in appropriate words which, as Mr. Kane points out (*sloka* 45 sqq.), strikingly remind one of the XIth chapter of the Gita. The religious mind of the author passed over the most important discussions which the hero probably had with the Imam. He merely pursues his basic theme, of the persistent claims of the disinherited hero for his "share", and makes him follow his father even to Heaven. As if the Imam has no say in the matter, Imamshah merely asks him to let him go to Heaven to claim that "share". The Imam gives the necessary permission, and the hero goes there. Strangely, in order to go to heaven he goes first to a cave. The absent-minded author, having brought Imamshah to his father, forgets all about the purpose of his extraordinary journey,

[1] As is well-known, one of the latter Imams, Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî, was in fact for a period the governor of Kirmân towards the end of the XII/XVIII c. Still later, his descendant, the first Agha Khan, Ḥasan-'Alî Shâh, also occupied the post, and actually lived in Bam. The latter is a town of no importance except as an outpost against the turbulent Baluchi tribes which in their seasonal migrations often threaten settled population with much mischief.

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and makes him merely ask for the keys of Paradise, thus implying that the *pîrs* themselves were not in Paradise.

The author absent-mindedly forgets to mention whether Imamshah has generally attained the aim of his journey, or explain the reasons for the failure. For him all this is merely a pretext to explain his theory of the magnificent reward prepared for the pious in Paradise which is described in terms intended to evoke the maximum of admiration. The hero, Imamshah, visits it, — using the modern parlance — merely as a tourist, out of curiosity. During his journey on earth in Persia he cannot recollect anything, even the name of the place in which he had the privilege of the *dîdâr*; here he shows himself as a keen observer. Various details deserve mention.

He begins from what may be termed the Purgatory (*sloka* 71) and mentions that Hindu souls, if piously acting, will reach the sixth heaven, but later on will fall down, and their good actions will not help them, — why and how, it is not explained. In *slokas* 75-97 the author, or a later interpolator, inserts a short account of the history of Satpanth, apparently quite unconnected with the narrative. and based on vague legends rather than on facts.

The Arab of the desert pictured Paradise primarily as a garden, fresh and well supplied with water. The author, an Indian accustomed to living amongst rich vegetation, only incidentally mentions the garden, but devotes all attention to the buildings with which he covers Paradise. All these are made of precious metals and stones. The Arab dreamt of black-eyed hurries with virgin breasts, ever remaining virgins. The Indian poet does not care about their eyes or anatomy, but about their dress and ornaments. He is accurate enough to mention that the share of every pious man is "about fifty" of them. Moreover he is so observant that he even informs us about their social standing : four times four of them (i.e. 16) are the daughters of goddesses (why not of gods ?) (*sloka* 127). In the next *sloka* it is also said that "those who will get fifty hurries will have Divine princes born by them". These hurries, or Apsaras,

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of Hindu mythology, are in these descriptions plainly modelled on temple hierodulas, *devadasis*. The author even gives a detailed description of the bed, of course of the most gorgeous quality, which forms a part of their professional outfit.

Finishing with the hurries, the author proceeds with other attractions of Paradise in the form of an astronomical number of castles, each with turrets, similarly of astronomical dimensions.

Strangely, the poet makes Imamshah more precise in his account of the return journey (*sl.* 141 sqq.). He gradually descends from Heaven to his native Uchchh, returning to his mother, via the Hindu Paradise, the Mount Meru.

Such inconsistency of subject, various additions which hit the eye, and concentration on religiously instructive matters leaves very little room for doubt that a long and complex process of gradual alterations took place. Most probably the original poem, perhaps really composed by Imamshah himself, suffered at the hands of various adaptators. How precious would have been such an original and unpretentious account of the journey to Persia by an intelligent Khoja traveller of the end of the fifteenth century if it had been preserved in the community !

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II.

SOME SPECIMENS OF SATPANTH LITERATURE.

Translated by Vali Mahomed N. Hooda.

I. The Garbi Songs.

Garbi No. 1.

1. O, believers, know that *Pîr* Shams is the *Guru* from the beginning (of time) who manifested himself in many ages.
2. Once he arrived, in his wandering, in the village of Analvad where many Hindus resided.
3. There were many Hindu temples and shrines, chiefly dedicated to the goddess Mata Bhavani [1].
4. When the *Pîr* arrived, the Hindus were celebrating the days of Norta [2], dancing in a ring and singing songs in praise of the goddess.
5. It was the night of the first of Aso Shud, and all were busy with dancing and singing the first *garbi* [3] in praise of Mata Bhavani.
6. There were thirty-six learned men who recited the religious tradition (concerning the festival), and, surely, 500 actors who enacted the events in theatrical performances.
7. *Guru-ji* went there, and began to listen silently to all that they were reciting.
8. In the wild dance and loud singing they displayed great adoration for their idols.

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[1] Mata Bhavani is one of the names of Shakti.

[2] See above, p. 44.

[3] Explained above, page 44.

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9. At last *Pîr* Shams, becoming angry, himself went into the ring and began to dance.
10. *Guru-ji* began to sing the songs of Knowledge (*Gnan*), and the Hindus were astonished to hear these.

Garbi No. 2.

1. "We are joyful to-day, serving *Sat Gur* ! [1]
2. Do not commit a mistake, O, you ignorant people, understand the real wisdom !
3. These temples and idols are a thing of the past. Why do you want to remain in the wheel of re-births ?
4. Serve the *Sat Gur*, him who possesses the Divine Light (*Anwâr*).
5. You will be rewarded if you pay the tithes always accurately.
6. True ascetics, living according to the rules of Sat Panth, will reign [2].
7. Nothing can be achieved by dancing, even if you dance day and night.
8. These idols of stone are scarecrows, they will never utter a word.
9. Why are you so foolish ? Cannot you realize that these idols are manufactured by man ?
10. Is there any deity in this *garbi* ? Is the goddess Bhavani present there ?
11. Divinity is in the person of Brahama, all your gods live there.
12. These figures (idols) which you from your childhood regard as gods, are not the Deity.
13. You will earn good fruits for your faith if you believe in 'Alî, the Manifestation of the True Deity.
14. Then only will all your sins be forgiven, and you will be blessed !"

---

[1] *Sat Gur* here obviously means the Imam.

[2] The expression "to reign", especially in Paradise, where there obviously cannot be place for rulers and ruled, apparently means nothing beyond "living as princes, in royal style".

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15. The crowd did not follow the *Sat Gur*, though he so clearly announced to them these truths,
16. They listened to what he said, and replied :
17. "Come here also the next night, and let us again dance together".
18. *Pîr* Shams recited this, urging the people to take heed of his words.

Garbi No. 3.

1. The *Guru* came the next night, and took part in their dances.
2. He uttered sweet words in a nectar-like language.
3. "O, my friends !" —said he, — "listen to me ! Act wisely !
4. Take my word that all these figures (idols) are merely deception.
5. Carefully ponder over this, and you will see that these are merely stones.
6. You must with sincere faith devote yourselves to God the Creator (Sirjanhar).
7. To Him who created the four kinds of beings, giving them life,
8. To Him who manifested Himself through all ages, fulfilling the hopes of His devotees.
9. He saved the great devotee Rukha Mugat,[1] absolving him from his religious vows.
10. He upheld the honour of Gotem[2] by reviving his wife.
11. He gave a strong kingdom to Dhruva[3] who attained great glory.
12. He saved Prehalad,[4] the prince, by bursting a pillar, and manifesting Himself from it.

[1] The name of an ancient ascetic.

[2] The name of an ancient ascetic who was cursed. His wife was turned into stone.

[3] Dhruva is the mythological name for the polar star. For the myths connected with it see D., 91.

[4] Prahlâd, Prehelad, Pelaj, etc., is the name of a mythical king, see D., 238-9. The bursting of the pillar refers to a miracle of Vishnu.

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13. He then killed Haranakans, tearing him with His claws [1].
14. He saved king Harishchand by stretching out a helping hand to him. [2]
15. He was surely present in the age of Duvaperyug and saved Pandavas. [3]
16. He will save the twelve crores of the righteous and faithful.
17. Then He will save innumerable believers at the end of Kalijug.''
18. With these words *Pir* Shams invited the people to follow the right Path.

Garbi No. 4.

1. *Guru-ji* came and every night entertained them (the Hindus) with his songs of the Knowledge (*gnan*).
2. But the ignorant people could not follow him, and his words fell upon deaf ears.
3. *Guru-ji* then addressed them, speaking benevolently : ''Listen to me, friends !
4. Why do you attend all these silly performances ? Do you not understand that all this is futile ?
5. In your worship you must invoke the name of Naklan ki, [4] the Lord of the Time !
6. He who fixed the skies, *arsha* (i.e. *'arsh*), the *kurash* (*kursî*, throne of God), and created everything.
7. Verily, He created the sun and the moon, the wind and water.
8. You will be purified if you act righteously.

---

[1] Reference to the fourth avatar of Vishnu.

[2] Harishchandra (see D., 118-9), a mythical king, one of the heroes mentioned in the Mahabharata. Vishnu saves him from the funeral pyre when he wished to commit suicide.

[3] Dvâpar yug is the third yug which lasted 864.000 years.

[4] Naklank or Naklanki, ''stainless'', perfectly pure, is apparently a rendering of the Ar. *ma'ṣûm*, the usual epithet of the Imams.

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9. You know nothing about the Right Path, your hearts are filled with falsehood.
10. Better keep away from falsehood and fraud.
11. You must act in accordance with the precepts of the religion of *Guru* Brahamaji.
12. His name is the Light of Muḥammad, the last of the Apostles of God.
13. You should always invoke his name, you must believe in Mawlâ Murtaḍâ 'Alî.
14. His name, as the Imam at present (*hajar joma*, i.e. *ḥâḍir jâma*) is Shâh Nizârî [1].
15. The Imams are from His Light (*Anwār*) that will remain eternally in this world.
16. Listen to me ! This is the True Knowledge, and you should devote yourselves to it.
17. You will attain your goal by doing this, and will enter Paradise.''
18. With these words *Pir* Shams admonished the people to be accurate in paying the tithes.

Garbi No. 5.

1. ''You will be filled with Divine Light if you drink the Divine nectar day and night.
2. Your sins and retribution for these will disappear, your minds will be purified.

[1] In the original it is plainly ''Nizârî'', not Nizâr, and therefore must be translated by the ''Nizârî Imam''. To me such reference to the Imam seems utterly strange, because it presupposes familiarity with the other branch of the Imams, the Musta'lian. As far as I could ascertain, the *gnans* never go into such minute historical details, and reference to the split is only contained in some later works, based on Muslim historical literature (which they lavishly mix with legend and fiction) as the *Satveni-ji Vel.* If this is to be understood as simply a reference to the name of the Imam at the time of the real author or translator, it must be Nizâr of Kahak who, according to the inscription on his tombstone, was buried in 1134/1722. Cf. the suspicious reference to Kahak, in the *Garbi* no. 18, *sloka* 12, and footnote on p. 75.

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3. Listen to this promise, listen to it, and believe in it !
4. Otherwise you will be separated from the righteous, if you do not act in this way.
5. Those who turn a deaf ear to these precepts are misled.
6. Why should you lose this life, of a human being ? You will never regain it.
7. You should act according to religious rules, seeing that the unbelievers have lost the Right Path.
8. If you act righteously, you will enter Paradise.
9. Know the right Path of the Truth ! The unbelievers have been driven away from it.
10. Those who have acquired reliable knowledge of its real meaning have been rewarded.
11. Listen to these admonitions which are like precious rubies.
12. Proceed along the Path with all caution, do not stray from it now and again.
13. "Dance" in the company of the righteous, keeping your minds pure and clean.
14. Give up fraud and mischief, — this will bring you good fruits.
15. You must certainly behave righteously, with your hearts full of love and affection.
16. Join the Truth in a right way, put your faith in a right religion.
17. Worship sincerely the True Guiding Light manifested in the person of Shâh Qâsim Shâh,[1] the Lord of the Time !"
18. This has been recited by *Pîr* Shams, and if you act accordingly, you will harvest good fruits !

---

[1] Qâsim Shâh (the First) was, according to the traditional sequence of succession, the Imam who succeeded Shamsu'd-dîn, the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh. There was, however, another Qâsim Shâh, the father of Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî of Kirmân, who apparently flourished in the second half of the XII/XVIII c.

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Garbi No. 6.

1. "Nectar light is showered ! Contemplate the beauty of the nature !
2. Have two pairs, four, strong oxen, and firmly hold their reins in thy hand. [1]
3. When the field has been ploughed, leave the rest in the hands of the *Guru* ! Take then a rosary into thy hand !
4. Plough the field of religious duties, sow the seeds of worship !
5. Remove the hindrance of sin and keep thy mind awake.
6. Cut up the root of a sinful act by purifying thy mind.
7. Always weed out the useless grass, and fence the field with the sorrow of separation (from God).
8. If the tiger of Truth guards thy crops, how can birds damage it ?
9. Keep company with righteousness and love, be devout to God.
10. Then thy field will be abundant, yielding plentiful crops for ever.
11. Always remaining righteous, thou wilt reap the harvest.
12. Make thy vigilance as a barn-yard, filling it from one end to the other.
13. Thou shouldst thrash it with the oxen of righteousness, and store the ever-lasting wealth.
14. Load the cart with the precepts given by the *Guru*, and preserve these in the granary of thy heart.
15. Do not commit theft by cutting down what should be paid in tithes.
16. Playing this game day and night, thou wilt reign as a lord in bliss.
17. Thou wilt reap a Good Harvest if thou worshipest God lovingly."
18. With these words *Pir* Shams appeals to people to live with each other in sincere friendship.

---

[1] Agricultural similes seem to be much used in the *gnans*, especially the expression "Good Harvest", which means salvation, as in the *sloka* 17 further on.

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Garbi No. 7.

1. "Dance day and night, and then blissfully reign in Paradise !
2. May God seal your hearts with vigilance for ever !
3. You should reap the Good Harvest in this world, living happily.
4. Your faces will shine in Paradise where you will abide eternally.
5. Follow the Scriptures and hold firm the *gnans* of the *Guru* in your hearts.
6. Hold the goad of thy reason in thy hand, and do not turn back, even if risking thy head.
7. When thou art trained how to sacrifice thy head, thou wilt not fear the sword.
8. Why are you again and again returning to this world in the wheel of re-birth ?
9. O, beautiful princes, why are you tied to this world ?
10. The reading of the holy Scriptures[1] without the knowledge of the Lord is just as futile as trying to raise a crop without seeds.
11. This only produces fire and embers and bunches of poisonous grass.
12. The people who do not follow a spiritual guide are swindlers and impostors. Why should you keep their company ?
13. The Scriptures (Puran) and Veds are the seat (*thanak*) of the *Guru*, do not neglect them.
14. My Lord is coming to Jambudip[2] because it is virgin soil (never ploughed before).
15. How often do you stray from the right Path, separating yourselves from the caravan that is marching to the Goal !
16. Those who remain behind are plundered by brigands. They waste their time in worldly preoccupations.

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[1] By the term "scriptures" the Puranas are meant.

[2] Jambudip, i.e. Jambu-dvipa (see D., 132), is one of the seven divisions of the earth of Hindu cosmology. India forms a part of it.

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17. Always guard the precepts of the *Guru* in your hearts. The right Path is as narrow as the edge of a sword.
18. Meditate over the commandments of the *Guru*, again and again, with full faith and devotion."
19. Listen to these words of *Pîr* Shams, and sincerely believe in them !

Garbi No. 8.

1. "Utter the *jap*, the Name of God, day and night, visit the prayer hall !
2. Those who meditate over the Deity are as if immersed in nectar.
3. Meditation over the Deity may be so deep that it cannot be interrupted.
4. When deep in meditation, one feels as if music is playing, he will always feel that "I" and "He" are one and the same.
5. When the Deity fills one, how can he be bad ?
6. When his meditation becomes much concentrated, he becomes filled with Divine Light.
7. This cannot be achieved by the ignorant who merely read the sacred scriptures (*Puran*) without understanding the true meaning of their contents.
8. O, those inquisitive ! Try this, if you can, but be careful about your minds !
9. (If you attain this), you will conquer the whole of the Universe, because His Light shines everywhere.
10. Realize that this would be cheap, even if you lose your heads in acquiring Divinity.
11. You will receive such reward if you acted righteously in your former existences.
12. If you are brave men, you must fight ahead, never turning back even though threatened with mortal danger.
13. Love your *Guru* with your whole heart !
14. Your immortal field will bring you then the harvest that you will be glad to reap.

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15. O, believers ! Pick up these diamonds of advice, why should you walk to and fro idly !
16. If you concentrate on devotion, you will be rewarded.
17. O, brother, do not secretly steal by not paying the tithes.
18. Use books, and acquire clear knowledge of the world.
19. O, believers, you will attain salvation if you remain active and with your minds awake.
20. Ponder carefully over the commandments given by the *Guru*. Why roam about, straying from the right Path ?
21. Those who acted in accordance with the precepts of the *Guru*, have acquired immortality.
22. Believe in me sincerely,'' — so says *Pîr* Shams.

Garbi No. 9.

1. ''As the wasp, misled and erring in judgment, —
2. — O, my soul, why hast thou committed such a mistake ? —
3. has burnt its body in a fire,
4. so anyone will lose everything who commits an error.
5. Many have got safely across the ocean of their lives.
6. In what way will *you* get through ?
7. There will be no rafts, no ships for you there,
8. you will receive no weight to balance these.
9. You must build up a bridge to Truth.
10. Only religion will help you to get safely across the ocean of your lives.
11. The *Guru* will accompany you as a guide,
12. and in this way you will safely cross the ocean of your lives.
13. Those who were light got safely over it.
14. Those who had loads over their heads were drowned.
15. There may be no shops, no merchants,
16. no trades, no traders.
17. There may be no sisters or brothers,
18. there may be no father, no mother,

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19. you will have to be alone.
20. Then have some righteousness with you."
21. *Pîr* Shams advises this,
22. let charity and good deeds be with you !

Garbi No. 10.

1. *Pîr* Shams has shown the Right Path while singing these "Garbis."
2. Those who recognize the Lord of the Time acquire immortality.
3. The *Guru* has guided every one to the Right Path, instructing him.
4. He explained the inner meaning of the Veds and ancient sacred books.
5. Dancing and singing around the *garbi*, he revealed the mysteries of the Coran.
6. Playing as a real actor, he recited the precious words.
7. He first described the four Kalaps [1] and the creation of the Universe.
8. He then explained the actions of Brahama at the time, and the creation of the four Yugs. [2]
9. All was created from the Light of Vishnu through his yawn.
10. Numberless creations, something like eight crores of them, came into existence through the cause of the Universe (Brahm).
11. He created the Illusion (Maya) of the four Yugs, by whom all the creations became bewitched.
12. She, Maya, committed the first fraud, and pursued Rukhi. [3]

[1] Kalap is Sanskr. Kalpa (D., 145), "a day and night of Brahmâ, lasting 4,320 millions years". Brahma is the *pîr*, or *guru*.

[2] Yugs (D., 381) are four, each lasting an "astronomical" period, and the last is the Kali-yug, in which we are at present. In the *gnans* the word sometimes appears as "yug", and sometimes as "jug".

[3] Rukhi, bewitched by Maya, failed to recognize Vishnu, and was therefore punished (not in D.)

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13. Those negligent have lost their path, being bewitched by her in Kali-yug.
14. After that in the age of the first Kalap the people of Jaksh were created. [1]
15. The Lord of that age Himself gave them a religion and His commandments.
16. The *Guru* Shams surely was present at that time in the form of Brahm.
17. He performed the ceremony of Pāval [2] the drinking of the sacred water, purifying the devotees by it.
18. "You also faithfully drink Pāval now," — says *Pîr* Shams.

Garbi No. 11.

1. "If you faithfully drink the Pāval (sacred water), you will reap a Good Harvest.
2. You will be saved as were the 99 crores of the Jaksha who attained immortality.
3. Or the 55 crores of the Meghmal, [3] who also reached their goal in a like way.
4. Or the 32 crores of the Kinners, [4] who also attained salvation.
5. Or the 33 crores of the *devtas*, gods, who were also saved, reaping the Good Harvest in the same way.
6. After these, at the time of the four Ghadis, and of the last Kalap, pious souls reached their goal.
7. There were five crores of the souls with Prehlad who worshiped Narsingh. [5]

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[1] Jaksh, Sanskr. Yaksha, are supernatural beings like the Jinn (see D. 373.)

[2] About *pâval* cf. above, pp. 36-38.

[3] Megh, Sanskr. *megha*, means cloud. *Meghmal* = *megha-mâla* means "necklace of the clouds", which may refer to clouds in general, or also to lightning. Apparently some supernatural beings, residing in the clouds, are here in view.

[4] Kinners, Kinnars, are supernatural beings, the celectial musicians, in the form of men with horses' heads (D., 158).

[5] Narsinh is one of the avatars of Vishnu.

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8. There were seven crores of souls with Harishchandra, saved by Ramchandra.[1]
9. In the same way Shri Buddha saved nine crores of souls with the Pandav princes.
10. King Yudhisthir[2] was heir prince, and all of them were saved by (in) his name.
11. In these ages of Kalijug twelve crores of souls of the righteous and faithful
12. will be saved by *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn himself.
13. They are the devotees of the Apostle of God, Muḥammad by name, and of 'Alî, the Incarnation of the Deity.
14. Whoever follows the Sat Panth, will surely be saved in these last ages.
15. They will all partake of the Pāval drink and pay tithes.
16. Whoever acts according to the forty commandments will meet Anant.
17. They will be blessed in Paradise, and will receive immortality.
18-19. Seventy one forefathers on their fathers' and mothers' sides will accompany them in Paradise.
20. Those who worship the idols, false gods, will be settled in Hell."
21. So says *Pîr* Shams, inviting the dancers to join the Truth.

Garbi No. 12.

1. "Beware, beware, o, keen and intelligent people !
2. O, good, righteous men, dance with untarnished joy !
3. Give up folly, avarice, fraud,
4. Remember the Almighty God !
5-6. You will not attain union with God so long as you adore and worship idols.
7. These *garbis* and *Bhavanis* are all futile.

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[1] A king celebrated for his piety who lived at the time of the seventh avatar (see D., 118-9).

[2] Legendary king, the eldest of the Pandavas, famous for his piety (see D., 378-389).

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8. These lights are merely handfuls of deception.
9. O, ye, humble ones ! What will you attain by dancing in this way ? Only fatigue and exhaustion !
10. Do not keep your hearts in such delusive intoxicat
11. You do all this merely to get livelihood.
12. You are revelling in falsehood and debauchery.
13. You must worship the Lord of the Time whose name is Kasam (Qâsim) Shâh. [1]
14. If you act according to his commandments, you will go to Paradise.
15-16. You must believe in the truth of the Sat Panth, and worship the true and mighty Lord of the Time."
17-18. By uttering these admonitions, *Pîr* Shams opened the locked hearts of those participating in the dances.

Garbi No. 13.

1. The *Gur-ji* came to the seventh night's dance, and danced with great pleasure.
2. All the residents of the city came together, and danced with the *Guru*.
3. *Pîr* Shams gladly recited the principles of the true knowledge to them.
4. Asking every one to listen, he recited to them the story of Raten yug. [2]
5. "At the time of the Raten yug there will come together 99 crores of the Jaksh, and also the people of Megh.
6. There will come together, with great joy, the 32 crores of Kinners.
7. Thirty three crores of the Divine ascetics will welcome the Lord and the *Gur*.
8. King Prehelad with five crores of immortal ascetics will also come.

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[1] See above, note on p. 60.

[2] It is not clear which *yug* is meant here, as this name is not used in Sanskrit works. Apparently it is the last *yua*.

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9. King Harishchandra with his *jamâts* will be seen craving for the mercy of the Lord.
10. There will be princes Pandava with 9 crores, enjoying great happiness.
11. *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn with twelve crores of his followers will also be there.
12. *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, with an *anant* (endless) number of crores, who lived in accordance with the Veds will be also seen there. [1]
13. There will also come all the 125,000 of the Apostles of God. [2]
14. All the Husaynites, shining with Divine Light, will be present."
15. All present were struck with wonder when listening to the description of the Raten yug.
16. None of them could follow the hidden meaning of the *Guru's* action, all stood dumbfounded in confusion.
17. Then all present at the *garbi* greeted him loudly and began to rejoice in their festivities.
18. The whole night passed in uproarious rejoicing, and the people only dispersed when day had dawned.
19. The news spread all over the city, was vividly discussed, and all the people anxiously awaited for the next occasion.
20. *Pîr* Shams says : "I danced my part that evening."

Garbi No. 14.

1. *Pîr* Shams says : "O, you, careless people ! How will you get through the world in safety ?
2. You will attain communion with the Deity (Sirjanhar) only when you suppress your love for idols.
3. O, you, careless people, do not needlessly suffer in the wheel of re-birth ! Follow the beliefs of the Sat Panth.

[1] Note that the *pîrs*, who according to tradition lived long after *pîr* Shams, appear here to be mentioned by him. Apparently such instances of anachronism do not attract the attention of readers.

[2] Cf. above, p. 23.

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4. O, you, careless people, expiate your former sins by abandoning idols.
5. O, you, careless people, give up worshipping the goddess Bhavani, and worship 'Alî, the incarnation of God !
6. O, you, careless people, drink of the pure sacred water, and behave according to the commandments of the religion.
7. O, you, negligent people, believe in the Light of Kasam (Qâsim) Shâh, who is the *âl-i Imâm*,[1] the lord of the ages of Kali-jug.
8. O, you, careless people, open your locked hearts, and see the centre through which you will attain salvation.
9. O, you, careless people, Salâm Shâh is He who possesses the Divine Light (*anwâr*), you must recognize him as the Imam (Nar).
10. O, you, careless people, I myself, *Pîr* Shams, have come here, as a ray from his light.
11. I have come to fulfill the promises given to you, and you must also keep your word.
12. O, you, careless people, whoever listens to our words and follows our commandments, he will reign in Paradise.
13. O, you, careless people, these ages of Kali-jug are the wrestling place for the last contest, — beware !
14. O, you, careless people, persevere in believing in the religion of Sat Panth !

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[1] About Qâsim Shâh cf. above, p. 60. The term *âl-i Imâm*, obviously taken from Persian, originally means "the family of the Imam", but here is used in the sense of the Ismaili term *'itrat*, or *dhurriyya*. It does not mean the family but the line of the Imams in their legitimate succession. It is interesting that further on, in the same poem, *sloka* 9, the author refers to another Imam, Salâm Shâh, obviously intended as the successor of Qâsim Shâh. It is not easy to understand the mentality of the author : if Qâsim Shâh is named the Imam of the time, then how can the followers at the same time recognize Salâm Shâh as an Imam ?

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15. O, you, careless people, you will never attain salvation by worshipping what is untrue. I am telling you the truth.
16. O, you, careless people, be careful, this is the end of the period of Kali-jug, worship God, the Almighty (*Sarengpran*).
17. O, you, careless people, be careful ! If you are really circumspect, then take a drink of the Pure Water (*nirmal nir*, knowledge)."
18. O, you, careless people ! These verses are composed and recited by *Pir* Shams.

Garbi No. 15.

1-2. "O, you, negligent people ! Listen to me : why do you want only fall the victim of the wheel of re-birth?
3-4. Now there will be neither an Eleventh Manifestation of the Deity, nor the fifth yug after Kali-yug.
5. The *Guru* and the Lord of the Time (*Nar*) are present now in this world.
6. He directed the people to the manifestation of the Deity in man.
7. O, my companions, recognize the Lord of the Time !
8. If you fail in this, you will fail to recognize the Creator,
9-10. and you will repent for your foolishness when all will be tried."
11-12. The *Guru* warns the dancers : "do not move in your dance senselessly.
13-14. You will attain happiness when you recognize the *Guru*, then you will enter Paradise.
15-16. We have fulfilled our promises by having conveyed to you this message."
17-18. *Pir* Shams has fulfilled his promise by manifesting (*parvariya*) himself here in the ages of Kali.

Garbi No. 16.

1. On the eighth night of the month the inhabitants of the town came out, and saw all their friends dancing.

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2. The *Guru-ji* recited sweet words, and the whole gathering listened.
3. The *Guru* recited words sweet as nectar (*amrat*), narrating the story of the beginning of the Universe and of the early ages.
4. He told of the creation of the world, of the sky, winds and water.
5. After this the four kinds of born creatures and eighteen kinds of plants were created.
6. Then Adam, the great-grandfather of humanity, the incarnation of Ishawar, was created from the Light of the Deity. [1]
7. First of all He created the *Panj Tan-i Pâk* from His light. [2]
8. The religion of the Sat Panth was founded from that day for those who know the mystery.
9. Those who obey the orders of the *Mukhi* and of the assembly of the faithful earn forgiveness for their sins.
10. The assembly (*ghaṭ*) of the faithful possesses unlimited power (to remit sins), it is a ray from the Divine Light.
11. There are present in it the Jaksh, Meghas, Kinners, and 33 crores of gods, spiritually.
12. The saints (*oliya*, i.e. *awliyâ'*) spread their spiritual light in the assembly of the faithful.
13. The *Guru* and the Lord of the Time are also present spiritually (invisibly), spreading their Light in the assembly of the faithful.
14. The Creator Himself is (invisibly) present in the *ghaṭ*, filling it with His Light.

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[1] Hinduism, as is known, knows no Adam. Thus the author here follows Islamic belief, but obviously to reconcile Hinduistic outlook he at once mentions that Adam was the incarnation of Ishavar, i.e. Ishvar, supreme Deity.

[2] The *Panj Tan-i Pâk*, i.e. the Five Pure ones, are, as is well known, Muḥammad, 'Alî, Fâṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Thus 'Alî is included amongst those who were created from the Divine Light of Ishavar.

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15. Such is the Path of Salvation in the *ghaṭ*. Only those who know it can attain it.
16. None of those who are pre-occupied with matters of this world can know it. They abide in ignorance.
17. O, those who want to know ! Come forth, and understand what the *Guru* says.
18. O, you, foolish people ! Do not miss an opportunity to understand it when the *Guru* himself discloses the mystery.''
19. *Pîr* Shams himself recites these words of knowledge, dispelling darkness from people's minds.

Garbi No. 17.

1. Ma[1] ! Pîr Shams himself steps into the dance ! By the order of Kasam (Qâsim) Shâh, the Lord of the Time !
2. Wandering through twenty four countries, he, the great *pîr*, as a bridegroom himself enters the dance, Ma[2] ! (*Refrain*).
3. He first went to the city of Chinâb[3] where he preached to the queen Surja-De. (*Refrain*).
4. Then he want to the Mount Meru[4] where he saw many wonders that had no end. (*Refrain*).
5. Then he came to the city of Unch.[5] He, the progeny of the Apostle of God, himself steps into the dance ! (*Refrain*).
6. He made horns grow on the head of Bavdin (Bahâ'u'd-dîn) in punishment for his wrongful action against him. (*Refrain*).[6]

[1] *Mâ* means mother, but the word is often used as simply an exclamation of excitement.

[2] Why ''bridegroom'' ? Does not this refer to the secret rites of the Shakti worship alluded to above, p. 38 ?

[3] The names of the cities, queens and kings are here obviously purely imaginary. Chenab, as is known, is the name of a river.

[4] Mount Meru is the Hindu Paradise (see D., 208).

[5] Unch or Onch obviously is the modern Uchchh, now in Bahavalpur state, about 80 miles from Multan.

[6] Bahâ'u'd-dîn Zakariyâ Multânî, the famous Sufi, died in 665/1266. His mausoleum is a landmark in Multan. Stories are narrated about his disputes with ''Shams Tabrez''.

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7. Many miracles were shown by the *Guru-ji*, he even returned a dead man to life. (*Refrain*).
8. He, *Sat Gur* Shams, made the sun descend from the skies, this was witnessed by all the people. (*Refrain*).
9. He, the *Guru*, performed these miracles by his own authority, because the Lord Himself was incarnated in his person. (*Refrain*).
10. Thence he came to the village of Analvad, and there danced in the *garbi*. (*Refrain*).
11. The ignorant mob, those who do not perceive the Mystery, roam about, foolishly missing the right Path. (*Refrain*).
12. He recited these verses, revealing in them much of the True Knowledge. Ma ! *Pîr* Shams himself steps into the dance !
13. He showed the mysteries of the four Veds and four *kitâbs* in reciting his verses. (*Refrain*).
14. He manifested the Sat Panth, the true religion, by citing all (necessary) proofs. (*Refrain*).
15. He proved that the Coran is the last Ved, reciting many verses. (*Refrain*).
16. Only those who acted righteously in their former lives can follow his precepts. (*Refrain*).
17. The *Guru* said : "and such people have attained immortality. This Kali-yug is the last opportunity to do this."
18. *Guru* Shams said so, and this is true Knowledge. (*Refrain*).

Garbi No. 18.

1. "O, Hindus, you have lost the path, do not roam in the wilderness where you cannot find the answer to your quest !
2. O, Hindus, what will you earn by worshipping the idols ? You will only increase your sins by this.
3. O, Hindus, you adorn them with flowers. O, you, senseless people, do not forget !

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4. O, my Hindu friends, whoever spoils his chance by committing such a mistake, will never reach the Goal.
5. O, Hindus, the periods of the Veds in which the people believed, have passed.
6. The periods of the nine incarnations of the Deity have also passed, o, Hindus ! Whom do you worship now ?
7. O, Hindus, Brahmins, Brahma has also passed away, and now the Ḥusaynî Imâm has succeeded him.
8. O, Hindus, the worship of the cow is now futile. Now you must worship in the name of ʿAlî.
9. The glory of the 68 places of pilgrimage has passed. The Present Brahma is the Lord of glory.
10. Why wander, o, Hindus, — come and take a drink of pure Divine Light.
11. O, Hindus, why do you throw yourselves down (prostrate) before the idols ? You should recognize as the incarnation of the Deity Shâh Kasam (Qâsim) Shâh, the Lord of the Time.
12. He resides in the town of Kehek (Kahak),[1] o, Hindus. He is the Lord of the Age who has the power to reward the pious.
13. O, Hindus, I now tell you the truth that if you worship Him, you will be released from the wheel of re-birth.
14. O, Hindus, you will take abode in Paradise, and will for ever reign there as kings.
15. O, Hindus, you will receive fifty *Huran* (hurries) each if you follow the religion of the Sat Panth.

[1] It is impossible to ascertain decisively, but it seems very doubtful whether, immediately after the fall of Alamût, the Imams lived in Kahak, a village North of Isfahan, on the road to Hamadân, not far from the modern Maḥallât (cf. my paper, "The Tombs of some Persian Ismaili Imams", JBBRAS, 1938, pp. 49-62). Apparently only in the XII/XVIII c. they settled there. It is easy to feel grave doubts as to the genuineness of such references, and suspect that the person who translated the *gnan* into Gujrati simply "corrected" the original, thus bringing it "up-to-date". Cf. also footnote on p. 59.

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16. O, Hindus, if you do good once for the sake of religion, in the assembly (*ghaṭ*) of the faithful, it will expiate all your sins which will be forgiven."
17-18. O, Hindus ! *Pîr* Shams says : "I tell you finally, and you should not err or be deceived. You must worship only the Almighty God (*Sarengpran*)."

Garbi No. 19.

1. The *Gur-ji* came, and danced with his companions on the ninth day of the month.
2. The wise man such as the *Guru* himself took part in the dance, and preached many good advices !
3. He glorified the *Panj Tan-i Pâk* who were created from the Divine Light in the following manner :
4. "The star of *Kutab* (*Quṭb*) was first created. It consisted of the Light of the *Panj Tan-i Pâk*.
5. It continued to rise for seventy thousand years, and was setting as long as that.
6. Nabî Mohomed (Muḥammad the Prophet) was himself a star, and the crown on his head was 'Alî. [1]
7. His necklace was the light of Fâṭima, glittering as a flash of lightning.
8. Two pearls were set into its (the star's ?) ears, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, spreading light. [2]
9. The seven earths were created from its light.
10. God created the *Arash* (*'Arsh*) and *Kurash* (*Kursî*) and *Lohi Kalam* (*Lawḥ wa Qalam*) from its light.
11. The names of the ascetics, gods, and those men who were destined to follow the religion of the Sat Panth were inscribed on the *Loha-Kalam* to be preserved.

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[1] Such association of the Prophet and 'Alî with celestial bodies is an interesting parallel to similar Nusayri beliefs.

[2] The description of this symbolical figure brings to mind a similar passage in the *Ummu'l-kitâb* (ed. by W. Ivanow, "Der Islam", 1936, pp. 1-132), pp. 211-212 of the original copy. It is the figure of Fâṭima in Paradise, and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are similarly called her ear-rings. In India men also wear ear-rings.

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12. It was at that time laid down that the payment of the tithes was to be the means of salvation.
13. Tithes should be paid from the profits, honestly calculated, on the (income earned by) physical (personal) labour.
14. The tithes paid from income, earned by physical exertions, are dear to the Lord of the Time. [1]
15. O, devotees, you must make your body work as directed by the *Guru* and the Lord of the Time (*Narji*).
16. By doing so you will reach the Goal, and have the kingdom of eternity.''
17. *Pîr* Shams says that all your wishes will be granted if you act in accordance with these rules.

Garbi No. 20.

1. The *Pîr* recites the gnans while dancing, *Gur-ji* preaches this :
2. ''Understand the signs of the Truth ! *Gur-ji* preaches this.
3. Why have you introduced these erroneous practices ? *Gur-ji*, etc.
4. The *Guru* again and again repeats this. *Gur-ji*, etc.
5. Why are you walking along the wrong way ? *Gur-ji* etc.
6. The *Pîr* has come here to give you his helping hand. *Gur-ji*, etc.
7. Find the inner meaning of the Ved. *Gur-ji*, etc.
8. Why do you neglect doing this, you, careless people ? *Gur-ji*, etc.
9. The *Pîr* is dancing with you to-day. *Gur-ji*, etc.
10. Tell me, what has made you so careless ? *Gur-ji*, etc.
11. Good men, you should serve the cause of the Sat Panth ! *Gur-ji*, etc.

[1] It is noteworthy that a similar idea that tithes should be paid on earnings by manual labour is quite systematically expressed in the *gnans*. Does this mean that income from trade or other forms of occupation are tax-free ?

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12. Concentrating your thoughts, (*Gur-ji*, etc.)
13. you should give up idolatry. *Gur-ji*, etc.
14. Make haste to understand this ! *Gur-ji*, etc.
15. You will be purified by partaking of the Pāval deity (sacred water). *Gur-ji*, etc.
16. Then you will find yourselves in Paradise.'' *Gur-ji*, etc.
17. These are the words of *Pîr* Shams. *Gur-ji*, etc.
18. Steady your hearts. *Gur-ji*, etc.

Garbi No. 21.

1. ''O, you, righteous people ! All of you listen to me ! Where is the right Path ? Shams, the *Guru*, asks this !
2. Find out the inner meaning of the scriptures, then you will understand clearly. Shams, the *Guru*, says this.
3. You are enjoying your dancing in the *garbi* to-day, but you are under a delusion, O, negligent people ! Shams, etc.
4. O, those skilled in tracing ! Find out whether gods or goddesses are always present on the right path ? Shams, etc.
5. There are Jaksh, Meghs, Kinners, and 33 crores of gods who have reached their Goal. Shams, etc.
6. Those who have clear vision of mind, and whose sins have been forgiven, can see them. Shams, etc.
7. Pelaj[1], Harishchandra and Pandav brothers, all remain together faithful to the true religion. Shams, etc.
8. Those whose minds are pure, and hearts are patient, can see them. Shams, etc.
9. Those devotees who had perfect faith and righteousness, have reached their Goal. Shams, etc.
10. They are all spiritually present at the *ghaṭ*, which is the symbol of the Ganges. Shams, etc.
11. Remember that *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn with twelve crores of followers is present in the period of the fourth *yug*. Shams, etc.

[1] Pelaj is Prahlâd, cf. note on p. 48.

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12. Those who follow us will see them. Shams, etc.
13. The name of the head of the limitless masses (*anant*) at the end of the Kali-jug is *Pîr* Ḥasan Shâh. Shams, etc.
14. He shines in the *ghaṭ-Gangâ*, luminously guiding by his light, day and night. Shams, etc.
15. Whoever is converted to this religion of Sat Panth, he will attain salvation, freedom and the *dîdâr*. Shams, etc.
16. Whoever, male or female, has done good and acted righteously in his former existences, will be saved." Shams, etc.
17. The *Guru-ji* recited such *garbi* songs, preaching to all. Shams, etc.
18. Those who are converted to the religion of the Sat Panth, will be considered the slaves of God (*harina-das*). Shams, the *Guru*, says this.

Garbi No. 22.

1. On the tenth night the *Guru* came near the *garbi*, and recited his hymns.
2. He danced much, and everyone was overwhelmed with happiness,
3. except for a Brahman, Shanker by name, who left the *garbi*, and walked away.
4. He could not rightly understand the *Guru-ji*, and could not realize that it was a miracle.
5. He was weak in the deeds of his former existence, and refused to understand the mysterious cause of the Universe.
6. How could he know the Lord who was not a sufficiently righteous man from the beginning ?
7. All the town people came around and listened to *Guru*.
8. All of them thought that he, *Guru-ji*, might have been one of their gods.
9. All the other 35 learned men, who recited the Scriptures, knew him well.

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10. They all stopped their recitation, and intently listened to him.
11. They heard the words of the Truth, and understood their sense by their hearts.
12. The hearts of all the learned men were softened, and they felt happy.
13. They properly understood the sense of what the *Guru* said.
14. They played seven kinds of drums and musical instruments, singing the hymns recited by the *Guru-ji*.
15. They played the drums again and again, in the enthusiasm of their love for the *Guru-ji*.
16. The crowd cheered very loudly, and many people witnessed all this.
17. All the people present became overawed, carefully listening to what was said.
18. *Pîr* Shams, the *Guru-ji*, says that you should listen all this with great attention.

Garbi No. 23.

1. The *Guru-ji* says sweet words, delivering a speech, and appeals to all to listen to it.
2. "You must pray God the Almighty, may none of you make a mistake concerning this.
3. Listen to me all of you, both males and females!
4. Behave in accordance with the laws of the Sat Panth while pursuing your worldly preoccupations.
5. You will succeed in your business if you conduct it honestly.
6. Act in accordance with the rules of the good religion of the Sat Panth, and know yourselves.
7. Strive to know better the inner meaning of the laws, take a drink of the Pâval (Divine) water.
8. Sins and crimes of your former existences will be forgiven if you pay the prescribed tithes.
9. O, those who believe in the Sat Panth! All of you must pay the tithes on all that you earn by physical labour.

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10. If you act as prescribed by the religion, you will be made gods.
11. You must not be habitually negligent, find out the right path.
12. When we come near your doors, you must recognize us.
13. We have already fulfilled our covenant, what will you say now ?
14. Do you wish to join the caravan of the Anant (limitless masses), formed by crores of saved souls ?
15. I call you to join it, acting in accord with this religion.
16. You will be rewarded with the abode of Paradise if you practice righteousness."
17. *Pîr* Shams warns you and asks you to behave wisely.
18. He also asks you to be steady in heart, and pay the tithes.

Garbi No. 24.

1. There is music, the music of Supreme Knowledge (*gnan*). Such a music was that of *Guru* Shams.
2. All great ascetics came to listen to it. Such, etc.
3. It was the harmony of the true religion. Such, etc.
4. The false glory of the sinful deeds of the past was nothing. Such, etc.
5. Great kings came to dance to its tune. Such, etc.
6. They left the lower earths to witness his dance. Such, etc.
7. All of them experienced bliss (at seeing this). Such, etc.
8-9. The king who ruled the city heard about what had happened at the *garbi* dances. Such, etc.
10. He was informed that the Lord Himself witnessed these. Such, etc.
11-12. The king went there, accompanied by all his wazirs. Such, etc.
13. They saw there the *Guru-ji*, the Divine Light, dancing. Such, etc.
14. They saw that the whole population of the city came there. Such, etc.

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15. All were greatly animated. Such, etc.
16. They stepped before the *Pîr*, and prostrated themselves before him. Such, etc.
17-18. "O, my brothers! Follow the precepts of the Sat Panth!" These are the words of *Pîr* Shams.

Garbi No. 25.

1. When the last night (of the *Norta*) arrived, all the companions again met (near the *garbi*).
2. The *Guru-ji* danced much with all the ascetics who met him there.
3. The king with a great multitude of his subjects assembled there. They prostrated themselves before the *Guru-ji*.
4. They all implored *Guru* Shams,
5. Praying him to convert them to his religion.
6. Through this they will be forgiven for all their sinful acts. Being so pious, they will for ever remain with the Truth.
7. All the Brahmans left their scriptures and prostrated themselves before the *Gur-ji*.
8. All of them implored the *Guru* to teach them (the principles of) his religion.
9. They said: "We have given up all falsehoods on hearing the teachings of the *Guru-ji*[1].
10. Now we have nothing to do with the *three* Veds[2]. Take us as thy followers.
11. Thou, *Guru*, art a true Muslim, teach us thy religion.
12. We, Hindus, have left the false gods, we are ready to believe in the *dîn*, religion, of Islam.

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[1] "Falsehood" here obviously means idol-worship.

[2] It is strange that here the first three Veds are opposed. In many *gnans* their recognition is regarded as an act giving salvation. The fourth Ved, in the Satpanth doctrine, is the Coran.

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13. We shall sow good seeds to reap a Good Harvest.
14. We pray, convert us to thy religion which we shall treasure at the bottom of our hearts.
15. We have given up false scriptures, teach us the principles of the Coran.
16. Guide us to the true religion and its prescriptions''.
17. The *Guru-ji*, with great benevolence, guided them to the True Path, as their Brahman (spiritual guide).
18. These eternal words of spiritual advice have been uttered by *Pir* Shams himself.

Garbi No. 26.

1. The *Guru* has shown the right Path to those who were misled before.
2. He converted all the Brahmans to the True Religion [1].
3-4. After that the king and the queen, with all the population of the city were also converted by him.
5. The Jatis (Jain ascetics) and Jogis (Yogis) left their Jog (Yoga),
6. and sincerely adopted the True Religion.
7-8. The Sanyasis came out of their seclusion, abandoned their *sanyas* (self-mortifications), and set foot on the Path of the True Religion.
9. Veragis (Bhairagis, another variety of ascetics) similarly gave up their *verag* (ascetic practices),
10. and concentrated their minds on meditation over the True Religion.
11. All (Hindu) worshippers abandoned their worship,
12. and began to rejoice, walking along the Path of the True Religion.
13. Sacred strings weighing one and a quarter of a *bhar* were broken.
14. Their hearts became enlightened with the Divine Light.
15. All the *garbis* (wooden stands for ritual lights) were thrown into the sea.

[1] Here apparently the converts are mentioned in the order of their social standing and importance.

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16. And they began to follow the laws of the True Religion.
17. *Pîr* Shams with much benevolence says:
18. "He unlocked the hearts of the worshippers of falsehood and idols."

Garbi No. 27.

1. The *Guru* himself has performed the ceremony of Pâval, the sacred nectar-like water.
2-3. The *Pîr*, with great benevolence, gathered all of them, and purified them by converting them to the Sat Panth and giving them a sip of the sacred water.
4. Shâh Kasam (Qâsim) Shâh, the Lord of the Time, himself arrived there, and gave the faithful his *dîdâr*.
5. The whole city was overwhelmed with joy, all went reciting the *gnans*.
6. A *mukhî* was nominated as the head of the community of the believers (*ghaṭ*), and collected donations.
7. All devotees were purified by paying the tithes.
8. The *Guru* with great benevolence gathered all within the Anant.
9-10. The wishes of all the inhabitants of the city were fulfilled, and they will for ever reign in Paradise.
11. Those who deliberately err will never reach their Goal.
12. Such people have strayed from the road to salvation, they will be wandering from door to door in vain.
13-14. Those foolish people who, having accepted the religion of the Sat Panth, do not follow its laws, will receive a heavy load of sins on their heads, and will go to Hell.
15. You will be saved if you act as prescribed by the religion.
16. You will be in Paradise if you act righteously.
17-18. This *garbi* song is recited by *Pîr* Shams, the *Guru*. He wishes that the sins of the devotees may be forgiven, and that they may have the *dîdâr*.

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Garbi No. 28.

1. This is the last of the *garbi* songs, the advices of *Pîr* Shams .
2. Those who listen to them, concentrating their minds on them, will receive a reward equal to that for a thousand meritorious acts.
3. The male or female who recites these songs will pass safely through worldly existence.
4. Those who recite the *garbis*, with the laws of Sat Panth, will have their sins forgiven.
5. You, males and females, must listen to the story of the *Pîr's* miracles!
6. If you recite the *garbis*, you will go to Paradise.
7. All your sins committed during preceding existences, in all the preceding *yugs*, will be forgiven if you recite the *garbis* and follow the laws of the religion.
8. Seventy-one ancestors of those who listen to the recitation of *garbis* will be saved.
9. The devout followers will be regarded as the slaves (*das*) of 'Alî.
10. The slaves of 'Alî who recite these *garbis* will abide in Paradise.
11. Those who recite them on the Thawar (Friday)[1] night will attain immortality.
12. The true and pure faith in these *garbis* will be treated as a meritorious act.
13. *Pîr* Shams says : "you must be steady in your hearts."
14. *Pîr* Shams came to fulfill his promises. You see how he gave them knowledge.
15. It is not the fault of *Pîr* Shams if thouse who at first understand this, afterwards lose their senses.
16-17. *Pîr* Shams says : "The *Pîr* explained this to all men and women who sincerely wanted to follow the precepts of Sat Panth, so attaining salvation".
18. Here end the *garbi* songs, the true word of the *Guru-ji*

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[1] Thawar is apparently an old Sindi name for Friday .

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II. THE MIRACLES OF PIR SHAMS.

a) Conversion of Pilgrims[1].

(40) 1. Once, while *Pîr* Shams was walking along a road, he met a procession of Hindu pilgrims. Three men stepped out of the crowd and bowed to him.

2. One was Sangji, a Banya by caste, the other Devram, a Brahmin, and the third Devchand, of the caste of Gola Rana. Thus they met him near the village called Gudi Vilod.[1]

3. The pilgrims camped near the village, and went to the river to bathe. The two devotees of *Pîr* Shams, Vimras and Surbhan, also went there to take their ablutions.

4. While they were bathing, some drops of water accidentally fell upon Devram (mentioned above). He shouted: "We are Brahmins and you are Musalas (Muslims). You have committed a crime (by polluting us)".

5. He ran to the village which was inhabited only by Hindus, there were no Muslims residing there.

6. The people rushed out on hearing his wails. They said: "We shall beat you, Musalas! Why have you sprinkled water on him?" The whole village assembled around them.

7. Then a man stepped out to speak on behalf of the crowd, and asked the devotees: "Who is your superior?"

8. They replied: "We have our *pîr* with us. We merely bathed, and a few drops of water (incidentally) fell upon the Brahmin".

9. Then all of them went before the *Pîr*, and asked him to what caste did those his followers who sprinkled water upon the Brahmin, belong.

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[1] From the collection of 100 *gnans* (forming the sixth vol.), printed by R. Virji, Bombay, 1933.

[2] This may be an imaginary place. Vilod or Vinod is a town in Gujrat. *Gudi* means the flag which is raised near a religious place.

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10. *Sat Gur Pîr* Shams replied : "These men are my servants. Why does it anger you so much that a few drops of water fell upon him while they bathed ?"

(41) 1. The Brahmins said : "O, great saint! (We are so angry because) we cannot be purified except by bathing in the holy waters of the Ganges."

2. The *Pîr* then stood up and walked towards the village. And lo ! the waters of the Ganges river began to flow before them from the sands!

3. All bathed in it, came out, bowed to the *Pir*, and sat around the place where he was sitting.

4. They began to implore the *Pîr* to consent to becoming their lord and spiritual guide.

5. Devram (the Brahmin) came up at once, saying that he wanted to become the *Pîr's* obedient slave. He asked the *Pîr* to touch his head with his hand as a sign of acceptance.

6. Then also came out Sangji, the Banya, imploring : "O, lord ! Save me, I am thy slave !"

7. Then came the man of the Rana Gola caste, the one whose name was Devchand. He prostrated himself before the *Pîr*, imploring him to accept him.

8. When all the pilgrims had bathed themselves in the waters of the Ganges, then the villagers came out, and also bathed themselves.

9. After this they went back to their village, chatting on the village square about what had happened : they had bathed in the Ganges without having incurred the heavy expense that the pilgrimage would have cost!

10. All the people bowed to the *Pîr*, imploring him to reveal the True Faith.

11. In reply the *Pîr* pointed to his two followers, and told the people to ask them to reveal the knowledge of the True Path.

12. *Sat Gur Pîr* Shams told the people that the two men were his devout followers, and all must trust what they preached.

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(42) 1. They all assembled around the devotees, asking them to point out the Path to Salvation.

2. The two devotees (*bhagat*) then recited the verses of *dnyan*.[1] All were glad to hear the mysteries of the True Path taught to them, asking the preachers to remain with them for ever.

3. Then they came together to take part in the sacred ceremony of the *ghaṭ-pâṭ*. They kept the *ghaṭ*, and the *kalas*[2] was filled with consecrated water which was distributed to all present.

4. Vimras taught them the principles of the religion, while Surbhan preached to them (the rule of righteous life). Then the *Pîr* Shams accepted the oath of allegiance from them.

5. The *Pîr* ordered them to pay tithes and alms, promising them in return the bliss of Paradise.

6. Having said this, the *Pîr* departed. All the pilgrims whose faith in their *Pîr* was strong, then immediately had reached their Ganges.

b) Conversion of pigeons and a tiger.

(43) 1. Here the *Guru* spread the light of Knowledge. Even the pigeons were longing to know the Path to the Goal, salvation of souls.

2. *Pîr* Shams is the Light of the True Guidance. He gave them the Sacred Water to drink, and the pigeons and doves bowed to him in adoration.

3. They all stood on one leg, assembling in large numbers. The *Guru* blessed them, and showed them the True Path.

4. He gave them (each?) a shoulder bag (?) and taught them the mysteries of the true Religion. He told them to pay tithes and alms in order to purify themselves from their sins.

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[1] This is the same as *gnan*, see the footnote on p. 22.

[2] *Kalas* is the name of the vessel in which consecrated water is kept.

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5. The *Guru* said : "Nine tenths of the food that you receive belong to you, and the tenth must be set aside as my share".

6. Some of them humbly took up the shoulder bag upon their shoulders asking to whom the earnings should be delivered when collected ?

7. Giving them instructions in the presence of Vimras and Surbhan, the *Guru* went further, proceeding by a desert road.

8. He came to Malva. Here there were many tigers. One of these came out and stood on the road, demanding some meat.

9. *Sat Gur* Shams then said : "Thou art the king of the jungle. Return to thy jungle abode and permit us to proceed further".

10. A cow came up, and stood by the *Pir*. The tiger insolently replied, saying that he would like to devour the cow before walking away.

11. "Thou wilt not touch the cow," replied the *Sat Gur*. "As long as she stands near me she is under my protection, and thou wilt not eat her."

12. The devotees (*bhagat*) then began to preach to the tiger. The beast listened to this with attention. Then it accepted the True Religion, and abandoned its intention of eating the cow.

13. The tiger paid tithes by leaving a certain portion of the jungle free to other animals, itself never entering it, and committing no mischief there.

14. The tiger thus became enlightened through the Knowledge, finding its way to Paradise by giving alms.

15. In this way the *Sat Gur* Shams preached to the birds and quadrupeds, and those who accepted his words surely attained salvation.

(44) 10. ... In this way, as a *faqir* in appearance, the *Guru* passed through different countries, preaching and instructing people in various ways.

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11. He visited many places, built seven *lakhs* (700,000) and five *mandhis* (temples) in which people could offer their prayers.

12. Eighteen creeds have conceived faith in him, and his *bhagats* performed the sacred ceremony of *ghaṭ-pâṭ* for them. Vimras and Surbhan walked with him as his servants.

c) Preaching in Bengal.

(5) 1. Then the *Guru* came to Bengal. Atits,[1] Veragis and Bhandaris came around him, asking him to perform the ceremony of *ghaṭ-pâṭ*.

2. *Pîr* Shams arrived in the village called Bhandara. Vimras and Surbhan accompanied him. All three sat down at a place there.

3. The place was then sprinkled with coloured sand. The *Guru* then entered a house where he performed the ceremony of *ghaṭ-pâṭ*, distributing the *âb-i ṣafâ*, consecrated water, to everyone present.

4. He preached the True Path to all, and everyone praised the name of Keshavpuri Multani.[2]

5. The *Guru* appointed a district centre (*thânak*) there, and a certain Vasta was appointed as head of the district. Everything that was connected with (the preaching in) Bengal was entrusted to him.

6. A man called Musafer was appointed the *mukhi*,[3] serving the *ghaṭ* (*jamât*). When Vasta was present, the sacred ceremony of *ghaṭ-pâṭ* was performed.

7. To the last copper all the money donated to the *Pîr* in Bhandara, was to be sent to him. Trusted men had to report at that lonely spot.

8. Surbhan and Vimras preached there, the faithful used to come there.

9. In this way the preaching of the True Religion

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[1] Atit is the name of the ascetic who does not recognize the division into castes, disregarding it.

[2] Cf. above p. 14.

[3] Cf. above p. 15.

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spread in Bengal. Jogis, Sanyasis, Atits and Veragis embraced the Religion, following it in secret.

10. The True *Guru* Shams said : "All of you, brothers of the *mandhi* (temple), listen to me : you should all give alms to Vasta who is my trusted agent."

d) The Miracle at Bhot.

(47) 1. Proceeding further, the *Sat Gur* Shams came to the town called Bhot.[1] Its inhabitants were all Hindus, and no one was willing to give drinking water to a Muslim.

2. He sat down near the Western side of the village. Many people then came out and asked him to move on because a bad smell was coming from him towards the town.[2]

3. The *Sat Gur* replied to them : "We are strangers, in need of rest. Show us a place (to rest undisturbed)."

4. They sent with him two men (to show the spot). The *Sat Gur* rose and walked with them to the Northern edge of the town. The place was lonely and abandoned there.

5. (The guides) told him to sit down and rest there, and not enter the town, warning them that otherwise they would be beaten. The place was under the authority of a Hindu ruler.

6. *Pîr* Shams said to them : "Go, stay in your town, and we shall stay here. You may return now to your homes."

7. Both men returned to the town, on their way chatting and wondering, how the *faqîrs* would obtain food there, at a lonely place like that ?

8. The *Sat Gur* rested at that lonely place, and the two devoted followers, Vimras and Shurbhan, remained with him.

9. They asked the *Pîr* to let them go to the town and bring some food.

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[1] I could not trace this place.

[2] Strict vegetarians believe that an unpleasant smell comes from meat-eaters.

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10. The *Sat Gur* permitted them to go to the *madh* (hut of an ascetic), in order to ask the people to sell them water, for which they would pay, saying : "You are Hindus, why do you not give us water ?"

(48) 1. Vimras and Surbhan then went near the town and said to local inhabitants : "O, you, Hindus, you are supposed to be hospitable. We Muslims are hungry. Give us food, we shall not enter your town."

2. A man, Atit by sect, who resided (outside) that town, came out, and said : "Why have you closed all the gates of the town ? The *faqirs* are hungry."

3. Others replied that the gates of the town had become locked, and all the keys had been broken by blacksmiths. [1]

4. "What silly thing are you doing," said the Atit. "When a *bhekdari* (mendicant) is dying from hunger, you only repeat the words "*Ram-Ram.*"

5. God's wrath has descended upon you, and now no-one can open the gates, even if all the people tried to force them."

6. Then the *chhaḍidar* (chamberlain) [2] of the raja went to the palace of his master, stood before him, and reported : "Three *faqirs*, dying from hunger, are outside the town this night (not being admitted into the village)."

7. The raja ordered him to bring the *faqîrs*, and to make inquiries as to who it was who had opposed their entry into the town.

8. The *chhaḍidar* humbly reported : "The *faqîrs* have camped on a lonely field. An Atit brought the news of this."

9. The raja ordered the Atit to be summoned and ordered to call the *faqirs*, telling them that raja Ramsangji calls them to explain the dispute.

10. The *chhaḍidar* went to the Atit and on behalf of the raja bade him go to the *faqîrs*, invite them to enter the town, and bring them in.

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[1] Obviously in the attempt to open the gates.
[2] *Chhaḍi* is the staff, as a sign of authority.

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11. Shivebhat, the Atit, then came back to his *madh*, and sat down where Vimras and Surbhan were waiting.

12. *Pîr* Shams says : "There are our obedient devotees Vimras and Surbhan in the town of Bhot" (?). [1]

(49) 1. The Atit conveyed to them that the raja had called them, as a great calamity had happened : the gates of the town could not be opened.

2. The *bhagat* replied : "We shall not come to the town. Let the raja come here, to this lonely field, and see us here. I am a Hindu, my name is Surbhan."

3. Then Shivebhat asked them : "Who has shown you to this place ?" They replied : "Two men came out and brought us here, requesting us to stay here."

4. "We stood at the gate of the town when the Hindus rushed out and ordered us to leave the place at once."

5. "Our *Pîr* left the place where he rested near the town, and we were forced to stay in this deserted locality." On hearing this, Shivebhat rose and at once went into the presence of the raja.

6. He said : "O, raja Ramsang Dave ! Listen to me : the *pîr* of the *faqîrs* has been forced to remain in a deserted place, and he is dying from hunger and thirst."

7-8. The raja said : "Who was it who offended him ? Summon him from his home ! Call at once the man by whose error the gates of the town still remain closed till afternoon. Summon at once the man who acted so stupidly."

9. Those who stood near the king told him that no one knew anything about that affair, except those whose houses were in the Western part of the town. It was they who had caused agony to the *pîr*.

10. The raja summoned those who resided in the Western part of the town. They came, and he asked them : "What kind of smell was it that caused you to compel the *faqîr* to leave the place where he was sitting ?

11. All five gates of the town have become closed. Go.

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[1] The reason why this sentence has been inserted is not clear to me.

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open them before the evening, otherwise you will be severely punished."

12. They went out, but soon returned, saying that they were unable to unlock the gates. They asked permission to call the *pîr*, and request him to open the gates.

13. Then the raja summoned Shivebhat, the *mathdari* (hut-dweller), whose hut was outside the town walls, and told him to settle the matter.

14. Thus did the raja say to him : "Go to the *pîr*, bow down unto him on my behalf, and implore him to open the gates."

15. Shivebhat went, and came before the *pîr*. He addressed him with great respect, by "Namo Narayan," and said : "I am thy slave."

16. *Sat Gur* Shams looked upon him and asked what had brought him there ? The Atit replied : "Raja Ramsang Dev sent me before thee because the gates of the town remained closed."

(50) 1. The *Pîr* replied : "We are not coming to the town, and will stay here. One gate will open if my name is uttered."

2. Shivebhat ran to the raja and reported to him the reply of the *Pîr*, by whose name one of the gates might be opened.

3. The raja at once rose and came to the gate. He remained standing and uttering the name of the *faqir pîr*.

4. Then the raja, accompanied by one *lakh* (100,000) people, went to the lonely place where the *Pîr* was sitting, and stood before him.

5. He bowed down before the *Pîr*, imploring him to enter the town and remain there.

6. *Pîr* Shams said to him : "We shall remain here because your people have shown us to this lonely field."

7. Then the raja prostrated himself again, still imploring the *Pîr* to come down to the town. A cow then suddenly appeared from the heavens.

8. *Sat Gur* Shams ordered his disciple Vir (Vimras ?) to bring a pot of water and wash the feet of the cow.

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9. By the order of the *Pir* the *bhagat* brought water. Ganga water was spinkled upon every one. [1]

10. Then Vimras brought a cup, and going to the cow, milked her. He brought the milk before *Pîr* Shams.

11. *Sat Gur* Shams handed the cup to the raja, bidding him to give some milk out of it to every one.

12. The raja issued an order that no one in the town of Bhot should go without partaking of the milk given by the *Pîr*.

13. Some milk was given to every one, each drinking freely, yet the small cup always remained full.

14. Then raja Devsang (Ramsang ?) summoned his queen who came out of the town. She took off her veil and bowed to the *Pîr*.

15. *Sat Gur* Shams blessed her, and wished her to be in Paradise. The name of the queen was Shilvanti Sadaji, who came near the raja.

16. Raja Ramsang Dave and rani Shilvanti Sadaji stood, offering prayers.

17. They implored the *Pîr* to visit their palace, accompanied by Vimras and Surbhan who were in attendance.

18. With their eyes full of tears the raja and rani implored him to save them, as he was a great saint.

19. The rani asked the raja to bow down to the *Pîr*, and worship him, and then return home.

20. The raja insistently implored the *Pîr* to purify them, making them his obedient slaves. He said that otherwise he would cease taking food,

21. Then *Sat Gur* Shams replied : "We rested on that side of the town, but your people told us to quit, — how should a Muslim remain on a high (open) place ?"

22. Then came a man of the Banya caste, Rugji Ranchhod by name, whose house was in the western part of

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[1] This story may be an aetiological myth showing the "foundation" of the drinking of milk at religious assemblies which was probably in the course of time replaced with consecrated water.

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the town. With him also came one Trikamji, and also all the residents of the town.

23. They humbly said : "O, lord ! We have not recognized thee, but now we see that thou art a great saint ! We shall now remain for ever thy humble slaves. Have mercy on us ! "

24. The raja and all the people implored the *Pir* to do good to them. The sun had set by that time, and night fell.

25. It was Savant 1178, the month was Kartik, and the day was (the 30th) Vad Amas, Wednesday. [1]

26. The whole population of the town then observed the commandments of the (new) religion, and performed the ceremony of the *ghaṭ-pâṭ*.

27. There were seventy prayer houses (temples ?) and three hundred and sixty priests. All men assembled at the court of the raja.

28. *Sat Gur* Shams, Surbhan and Vimras taught them religion, and the *Guru* asked the raja to listen to them.

29. "All of you should pay the tithes which you should hand over to Musafer, to the last copper (*kodi*) (?)

30. Collect all the religious moneys, keep them in the royal treasury, and then forward them to our residence."

31. (Later on) the *jamât* always met at the place near the Western gate of the town. Rugji Ranchhod and Trikam always used to meet at the place where the *Guru* stood.

32. The 360 priests (*mathdaris*) also assembled and, having performed religious ceremonies, went to the Bhandara of (?) Shivebhat.

33. (This) Shivebhat was formerly named Devsang, and was a Gaik-vadi by caste. He preached, spreading the *Guru's* wisdom everywhere.

34. The people soon after their conversion to the (new) religion, received a *jap*, a special word (*dhikr*) to repeat as a prayer. The *Pir* told them that spiritually he was always with them.

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[1] This makes 515-6 A.H./1122 A.D.

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35. When the *bhagat* (missionary), sitting on the *pâṭ* (*mimbar*), used to repeat the word given by the *Guru*, the minds of all were filled with joy as if they were in the presence of *Sat Gur* himself.

36. The raja and rani implored the *Guru* to visit their palace. They repeated : "How shall we live when you have left our town ?"

37. *Sat Gur* Shams replied : "I shall visit your palace. Your residence will be Paradise, if you sincerely pray to God."

38. The *Pîr* then said to them that he was going to Jambudip to stay there. He asked them to think of him.

39. Then *Sat Gur* Shams rose and secretly said something to the raja, bidding him to convey it to all members of the community. This "High Word" (*dhikr*) they all persistently repeated in their prayers.

40. The *Pîr* told the raja to believe in him as sincerely as did the two devotees with him, his humble slaves.

e) Bringing a dead Boy to Life.[1]

273. ... *Pîr* Shams took a seat in a mosque. There was a boy (in the city) who had great affection for the *Pîr*. Unfortunately, he died.

274. That boy was a prince, the son of the king of the Unch city. When this sudden calamity befell the king, an idea flashed into his mind.

275. He said to himself : "I have heard that the progeny of the Apostle of God can bring the dead back to life." Then he ordered the dead body to be placed in a large house, and summoned all the *qâḍîs* and *muftîs*.

276. When they assembled at the court, he said to them : "I listened to you all the time, it was you who read the Holy Book to me.

[1] From here on the extract is taken from the *Momen Chetavani*, or "Advices to the Faithful", attributed to the authorship of Imamshah. From the Gujrati version, printed in Bombay, 1924 (second edition), slokas 273-309, pp. 35-39. Each verse has a refrain : "Take this advice as it is said by the *Sat Gor*".

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277. You read in it that the progeny of the Apostle of God can bring the dead back to life. Now here lies a dead body in my house.

278. Come and bring him to life ! If you fail in this you will be cruelly tortured, together with all your families.'' — On hearing this the *qâḍîs* and *muftîs* asked the king to make a proclamation in the city, summoning such a person.

279. The king did this, and a proclamation was made in the city, summoning anyone who happened to belong to the progeny of the Apostle of God. All the inhabitants of the city came there, but there was none who could return the dead boy to life.

280. Everyone was frightened, excitedly talking to each other, and discussing among themselves the threat made by the king to punish and utterly ruin them.

281. All were terribly worried. Then one of them suddenly had an idea. He suggested they should to go to the mosque and call the man who was resting there to come before the king.

282. On hearing this suggestion, all those who were crowding at the court rose and went to the mosque where *Sat Gur* Shams rested. They related to him what had happened.

283. They implored the *Pîr* to come, for otherwise the king would punish and ruin them, together with their families. They begged him to have pity on them and revive the prince.

284. *Sat Gur* Shams then asked them whether there was any person (besides himself) in the city, belonging to the progeny of the Apostle of God capable of bringing the prince to life.

285. He added : ''I am a slave of Muḥammad the Apostle of God. What power have I to do this ?'' Then he told them to go to the saints of the city and pray to them to do this.

286. Those who were present most humbly replied that they had searched the whole of the city for such a person,

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but were unable to find one. They prayed to the *Pîr* to pity them, as would their own father and mother, and save them and their families (from the wrath of the king).

287. Then the *murshid* (i.e. spiritual guide, the *Pîr*), with great benignity, rose and went to the palace of the king. He took the dead prince by the arm, and the boy rose at once.

288. (Thus) he brought the boy to life by his own authority, without uttering the name of God.[1] When the boy got up and recognized the *Pîr*, they at once went out together.

f) The Miracle of bringing the Sun down.

289. The unbelievers who were present stood stupefied. They began to reproach the *Pîr*, accusing him of pretending to be the Creator Himself. By his action he had committed the sin of the violation of the prescriptions of the religion, deserving the punishment (*ta'zîr*) under the law of *sharî'at*. The crowd hotly discussed all this.

290. None of them, however, dared to come before the *Pîr* himself and tell him the truth. Behind his back, they uttered abuse against him. The hearts of these unfaithful people were shaken, none of them had reached the Goal.

291. *Sat Gur-ji*, accompanied by the boy, meanwhile left the city. They had no food till the sun had passed over their heads (i.e. afternoon).

292. Then *Sat Gur-ji* sat down to meditate in the shadow of a tree, and himself perceived that he had breached the banks of the *shar'* (*sharî'at*). He acted as if he were the Creator of the World Himself. (As the punishment for this) he removed his own skin from head to fooot.

293. He handed the skin over to the boy, and together

[1] As has been mentioned in the introductory paper, this motif is very popular in darwish stories. In this version the saint utters no word. What would be "proper" in the circumstance would be to utter the formula : *qum bi-idhni'l-lâh*, i.e. "rise by the command of God". In some versions the saint instead says : *qum bi-idhn-i*, "rise by *my* order."

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they returned to the city where he handed over the skin to the people.

294. *Sat Gur* told them to take it because he had brought back to life a slave of God, the boy, thus committing the sin of violation of the *sharî'at*.

295. The people were confused in their minds. That is why they have not recognized the *Datar* (Creator) Himself in the person of the *Pîr*. By that time *Sat Gur* Shams began to feel hungry, and went to a butcher's shop.

296. The inhabitants of the city decided not to give him anything to eat because he had brought the dead boy to life by his own authority, and such an act was contrary to religion.

297. Such a sin could only be atoned for by the sinner's being flayed alive. They made a proclamation in the city, ordering that no one should give him anything to eat until the punishment had been inflicted.

298. When the news reached the ears of *Sat Gur* Shams, he came to the butcher's house, asking him to sell some cooked food for which he was willing to pay.

299. The butcher hesitated, being afraid of the order promulgated in the city, which forbade the giving of anything to the *Pîr*.

300. He was ashamed, however, and offered to sell the *Pîr* some raw mutton, as the cooked food was not yet ready.

301. *Pîr* Shams agreed, and the butcher at once sold him a piece of raw mutton. This he took away to ask someone to give him the use of a fire with which to cook it. But no one gave him a fire.

302. He felt very hungry because it was only four *ghadis* (about one and a half hours) before sunset. He then stood up and invoked the sun to come down. The sun at once obeyed, and began to descend.

303. The sun said to him: "O, Lord ! What can I do for Thee ? I am at Thy service, ready to do anything ordered."

304. *Pîr* Shams then ordered the sun to cook the mutton, so that both he and the boy, who were very hungry, could eat it.

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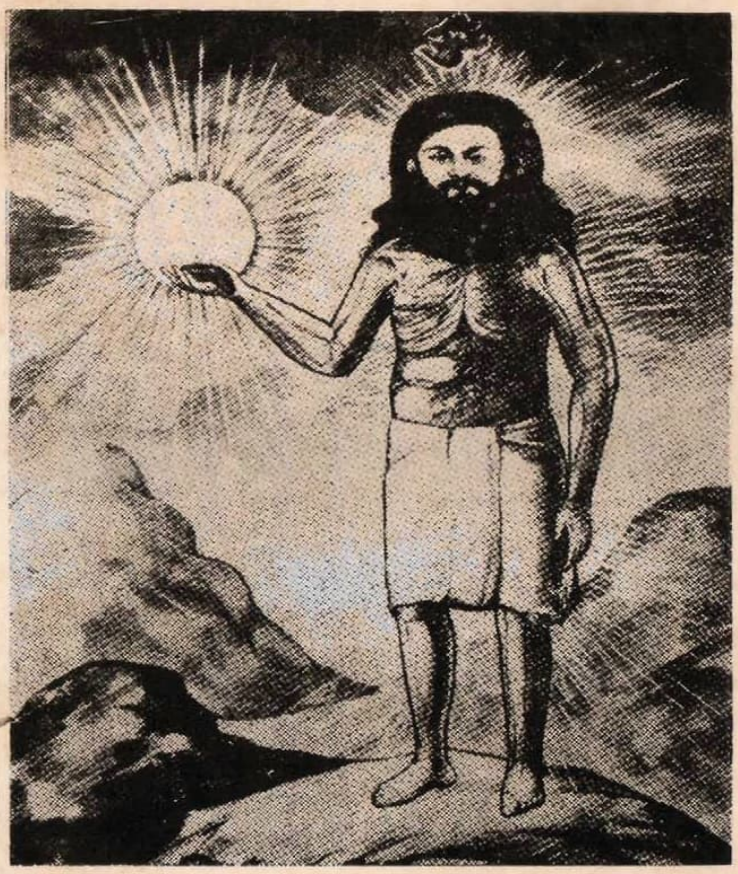

Fig. 1.

Pir Shams brings the sun down (see pages 100-101). The sign above his head is the sacred syllable *om*. Reproduced from a picture published by the *bawas* of the Pirana shrine near Ahmadabad.

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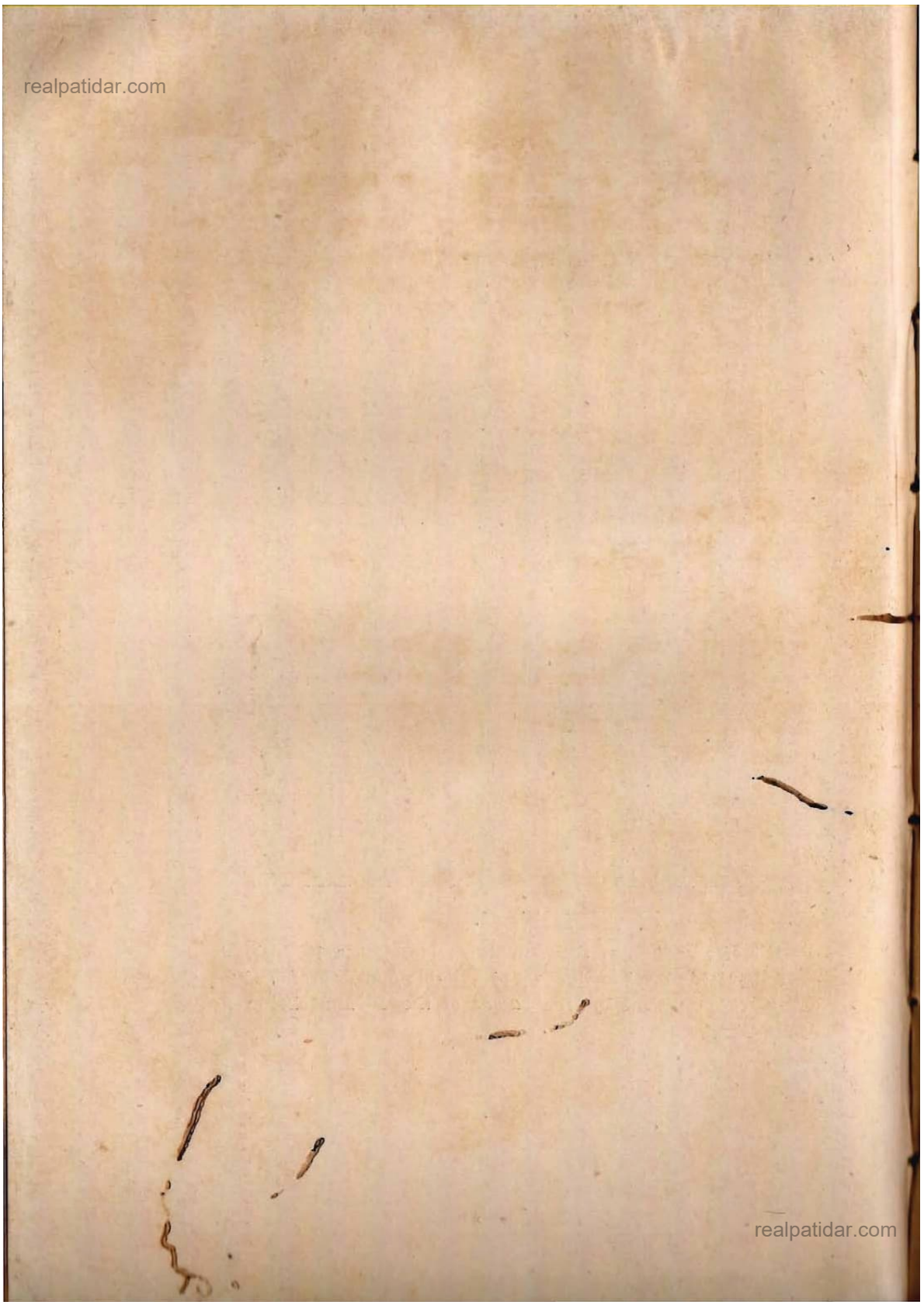

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ऐजी लाओ तो आंही लोडीओ, पे सुणो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
पीर बोध दीओ दील आपणे, वीरा दील आपणे.....(१)

ऐजी सची दील यारा आंही दीओ पे सुणो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
अनल पंखी जीअ मेडा मीलो वीरा मेडा मीलो.....(२)

ऐजी धावे धीन यारा आंही करीओ, पे सुणो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
बीमरस जेडा पे मोमन भाइ जे थीओ, वीरा भाइ जे थीओ.....(३)

ऐजी तेणे जीवडे कारण आपणे, पे सुणो भाइमंजी, हो याराजी.
तेणे आप शीर दीया काटीआ, वीरा भाइ काटीआ.....(४)

ऐजी मनधा भाणा आंही भंजो पे सुणो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
तो लोडेओ अमरापुरी, वीरा भाइ अमरापुरी.....(५)

ऐजी ही परायो देहडो, पे सुणो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
तुं नाठी दोपे दीअंडा, वीरा दोपे दीअंडा.....(६)

ऐजी पुंठेअ लगडा आंही वीनो, पे सुनो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
जींअ ऊंठ कतार नथडी, वीराभाइ नथडी.....(७)

ऐजी पले लगडा आंही हलो, पे सुणो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
गुर चलावे मोमन भाइ तींयु चलो, वीराभाइ तींयु चलो.....(८)

ही शभध आंइ सुणीओ, पे सुणो भाइमजी, हो याराजी.
पीर शमस बोलीआ, मोमन भाइ वीनती, वीरा भाइ वीनती.....(९)

Fig. 2. The *gnan* no. 1, by Pir Shams, in the Kachchhi dialect (in Nagari characters). See p. 103.

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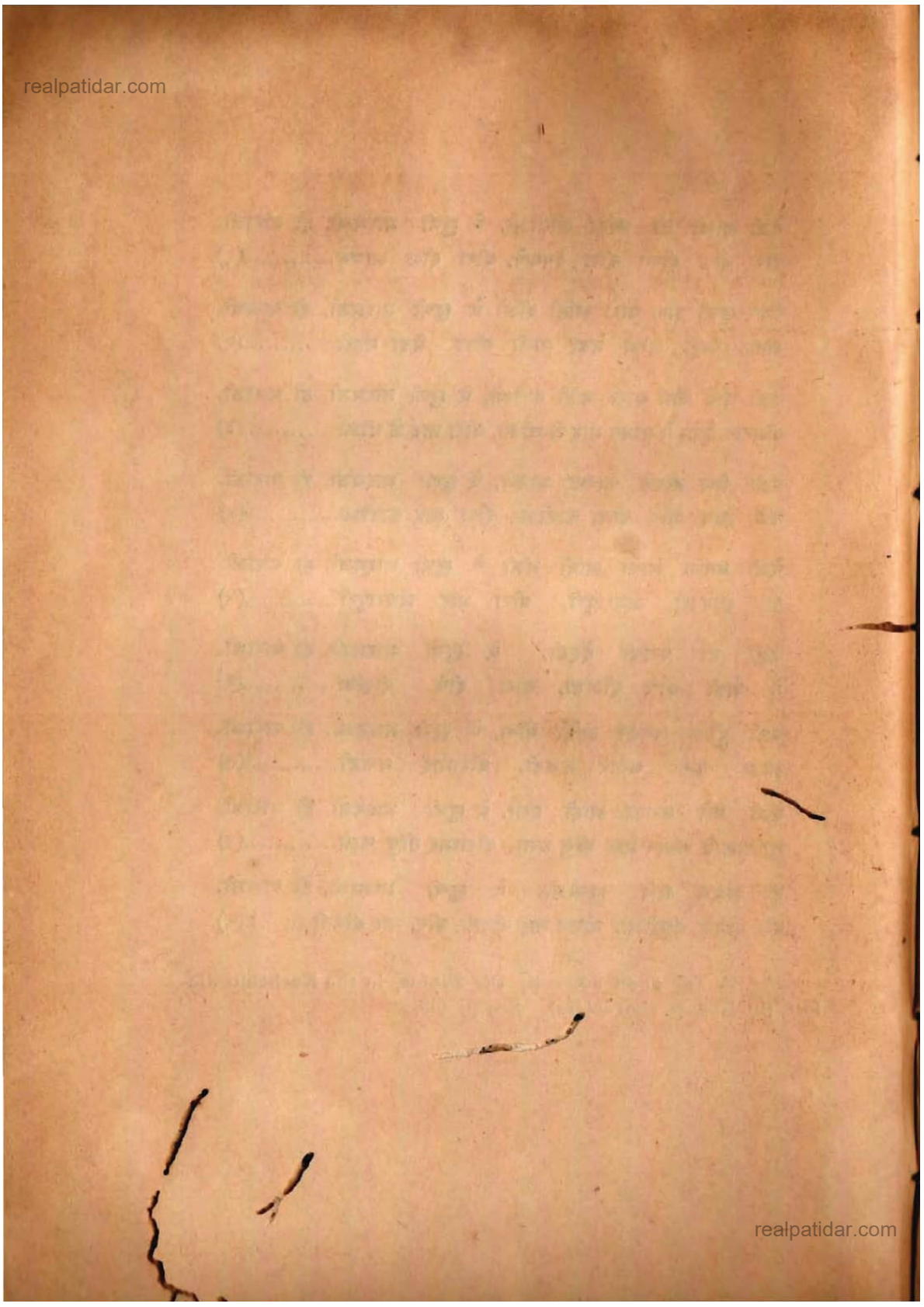

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यारा सफायत माहमद करशे, मोमन बहेस्त लहंधा. (१)
अंमरत भोजन वस्त्र वरणा, लींणां लाड करींधा. (२)
यारा सर सोवन, सीर टोपे केरी, कसर कोट अडाईआ. (३)
यारा अवध अमल, मोती, मांहे मडीआ, माणक मथा छापे आ. (४)
यारा मोती मांहि खट झुले से, सतरंगी पलंग वीछाइआ. (५)
यारा हीरडा जडतर हींधोरा पास, मोमन मांहे लुदंधा. (६)
यारा तखत फरीइअुं शाह आपो ही आपे, मन वाछा फल लहंधा. (७)
यारा कीआ कलाची, ताजी, से ता, पासे बुराक बुरंधा. (८)
काअम कुकुअ रेट रचेसे, पुरख पुर पीहंधा. (९)
यारा सरो शरबत, माखोअ, खीर, चशमा चारे जरंधा. (१०)
यारा रातीआ कसतुरी वाअेज वरसे, अंबर दींअ वसंधा. (११)
यारा धुप टाढ मोमन न लगेसे, जीअ भावन तींअ कंधा. (१२)
यारा अमर पींढी अमरापुरी वासो, जे के पंज पलंधा. (१३)
यारा अंहुकार वादा, काम करो धा, हीरस, जे भींतर सोजीधा. (१४)
यारा तीनखें अनंत वार सभ ऐक महोलमें, सदा शाह पसंधा, (१५)

Fig. 3. The beginning of the *gnan* no. 6, by Pir Sadru'd-din, in the Multani Panjabi dialect (in Nagari characters). See pp. 106-107.

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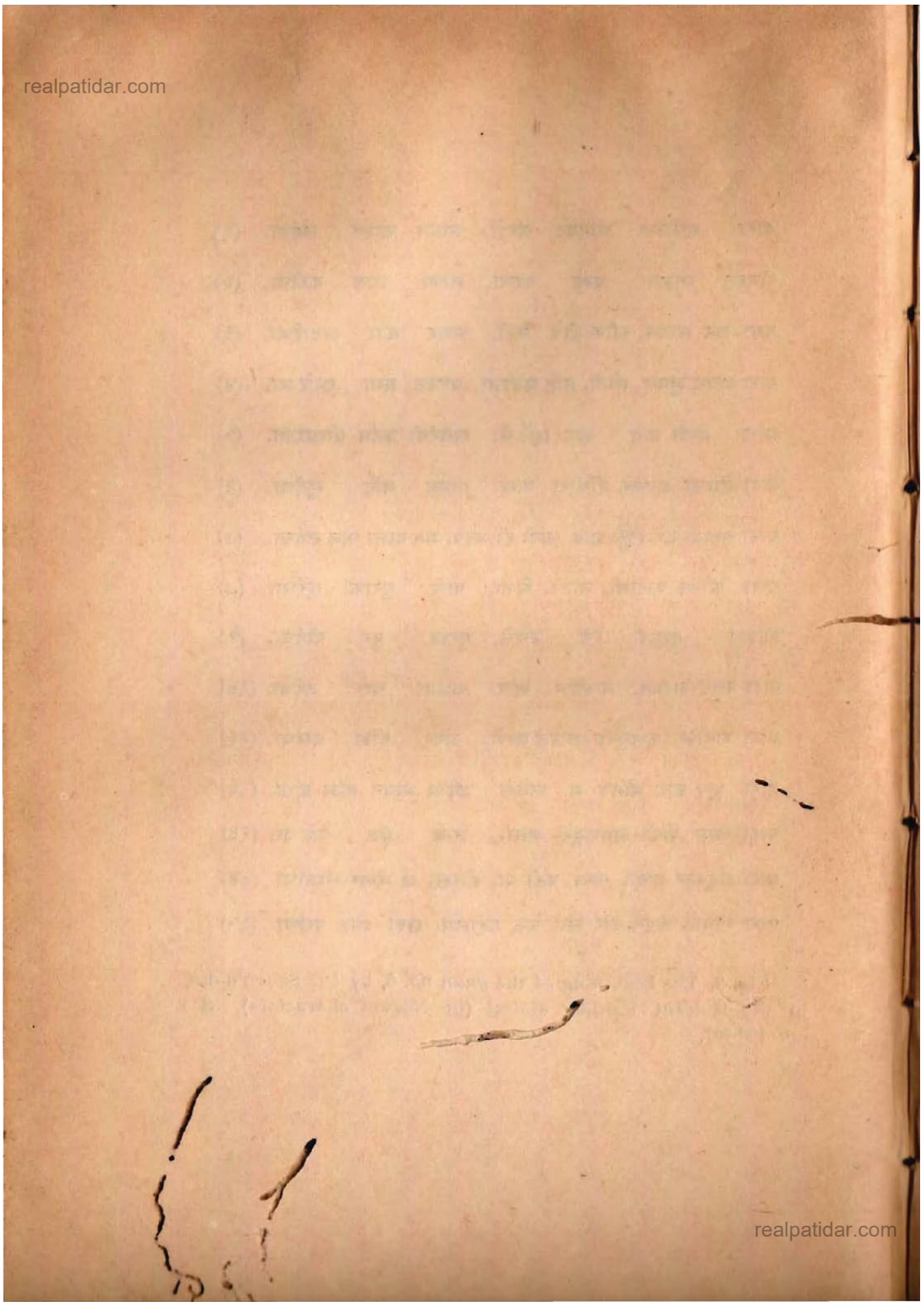

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ऐजी अथी अल्लाह न गुरें बन्दा, तुं सुते सझी रात,
नका जोरी जीवणी बाना, नका समर साथ (वराणी)

शाहजो मडी डो तीनीखें, जे सुभुडे जागन,
सुभुडे न जागेआ, तेखे हुऊं न दिन हथ,
से हाय हाय कन्धा, हथ हणीधा,
जीयुं हारी विनाइ वत्र.....शाहजो-(१)

ऐजी बाना तोजो तकीयो यारा, कढनमे कुड,
पसा रतां गुलडां यार, म विनाइज मूड.....शाहजो-(२)

ऐजी बाना तोजो तकीयो यारा, कंढनमें कियो,
जडे सीचाणुं सुरकंइ, यार तडे समरीयो.....शाहजो-(३)

ऐजी कपातीय कतीयुं यारा, जडे सुता लोक,
तेनी पोहजे कते वीधा, गीची गाडो थोक.....शाहजो-(४)

ऐजी जेडो ने तेडो हंध कतीआइ,
पोऐ सुभाणी सरतीऐ वीच, मीली मरंका आइ.....शाहजो-(५)

ऐजी कोठा मंडप माडीयुं घर घोडा ने भंढार,
केन नेआ पाणसे, यारा जीव चलंते वार.....शाहजो-(६)

ऐजी भणे पीर सदरद्दीन, आंही सुणो मोमन वीर,
अलख त्रुठो तीनीखें जीनी सुजातो शाह पीर.....शाहजो-(७)

Fig. 4. The *gnan* no. 7, by Pir Sadru'd-din, in the Sindhi language (in Nagari characters). See pp. 108-109.

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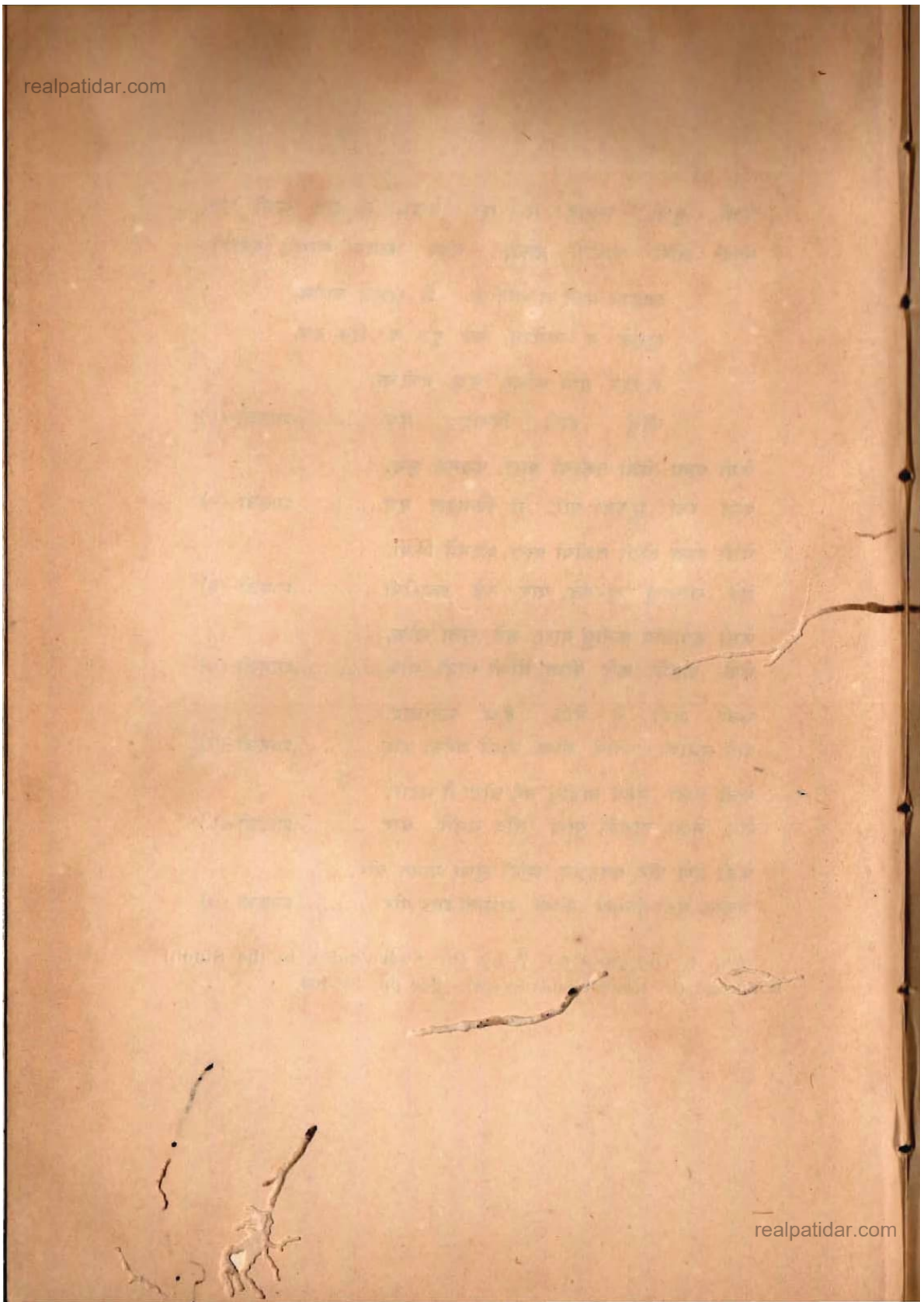

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શ્રી દશમાંહે, શ્રી દશમાંહે ૰ નકલંકી રૂપે લીધો છે અવતાર, શાહ મૈાલા મુરતજા અલી રૂપે નામ ભણાવીયાજી : હેત હકીકતને કારણે સામીજી તમે ભલે ભલે અવતર્યા; હેતે સેતે તુરીયે શાહ ચડશે અસવાર,

ભગત ઓધારીયે, અસુર સંગારીયે, દાણવ ડારીયે,
ગતીયું તારીયે, આશુ પુરીયે, વાચા પાળીયે,
શંખ ચકર લેશે શાહ હાથ.

શંખ ચકર લેશે શાહ હાથ, લઇને ફરશે શાહ પીરોથમી માંહે,
હવે પોતા તે દશે અવતાર, પરહરીયો શાહ ગીરભાવાસ,
શાહ જંપુ દીપનો રાય, આવશે શાહ મુલરતાન માંહે,
શાહ દેશે રીખીયાને રાજ, રીખીયું કરશે અવીચળ રાજ.

રીખીયાને વઈકુંઠ વાસ, પીર સોહદેવ કેરડો શામ, પરતક નકલંકી નામ.
હો મારા સામીજી, શ્રી દશમાંહે મારો તુ શ્રી પરમેશરા, શ્રી દશમાંહે નકલંકી રૂપે લીધો છે અવતાર, શ્રી શાહ મૈાલા મુરતજા અલી રૂપે નામ ભણાવીયાજી. શ્રી શાહ મૈાલા મુરતજા અલી તે શ્રી સલામ શાહ, શ્રી શાહ મૈાલા મુરતજા અલીની મોલ્ય તો બીબી જુલેખા, પીતાતો હાસમી અણુ તાલબ વલી, ગુરૂતો નબી મહમદ મુસ્તફા રસુલ સલલા અલેહે વ સલમ, શકિત તો બીબી ફાતેમા ઝહોરા રઝી અલાહુ તઆલા અનહુ, ચાર લાખ ને બત્રીસ સેહેસ્ત્ર શ્રી મૈાલા મુરતજા અલી રૂપે નામ ભણાયા, જી અલ્લાહ જી મૈાલા.

ચાર લાખ ને બત્રીસ સહેસ્ત્ર આજ કલજુગના પરમાણ હુઆ,
તારે અથર વેદના વારા વરત્યા, આજ કલજુગ માંહે
શાહનું એક રૂપ વરત્યો, એક દાણવ શાહ આપે સંહારશે,
કરોડ બારેસુ પીર સદરદીન તારીયા, તેણે ગુપ્ત પંથ આરાધીયા
તે સહી અમરાપુરીનો વાસો ભલે પામીયા, જી અલ્લાહ જી અલ્લાહ.

Fig. 5. The beginning of the *Das Avatar*, in Gujrati (in Gujrati characters). See pp. 112-113.

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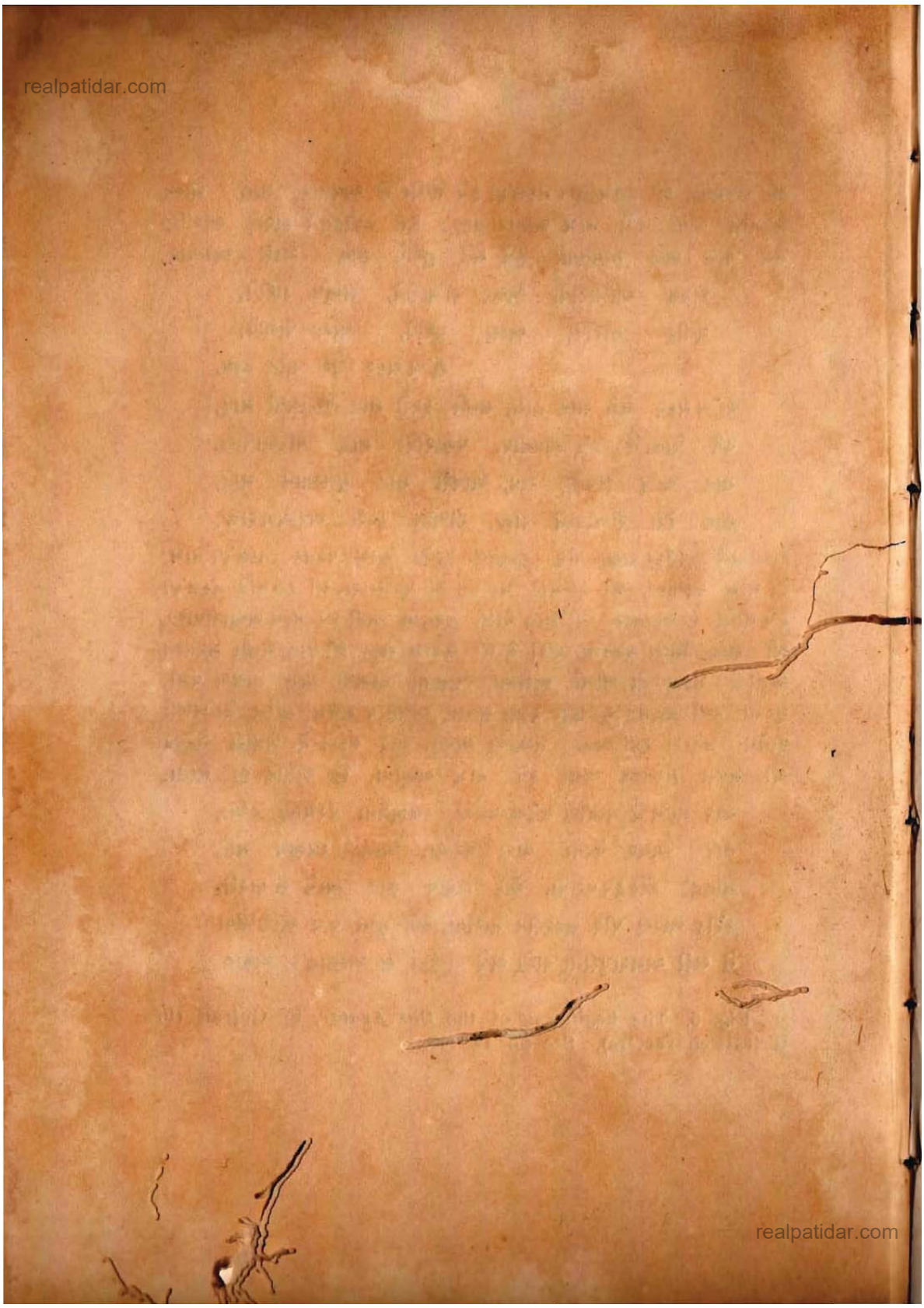

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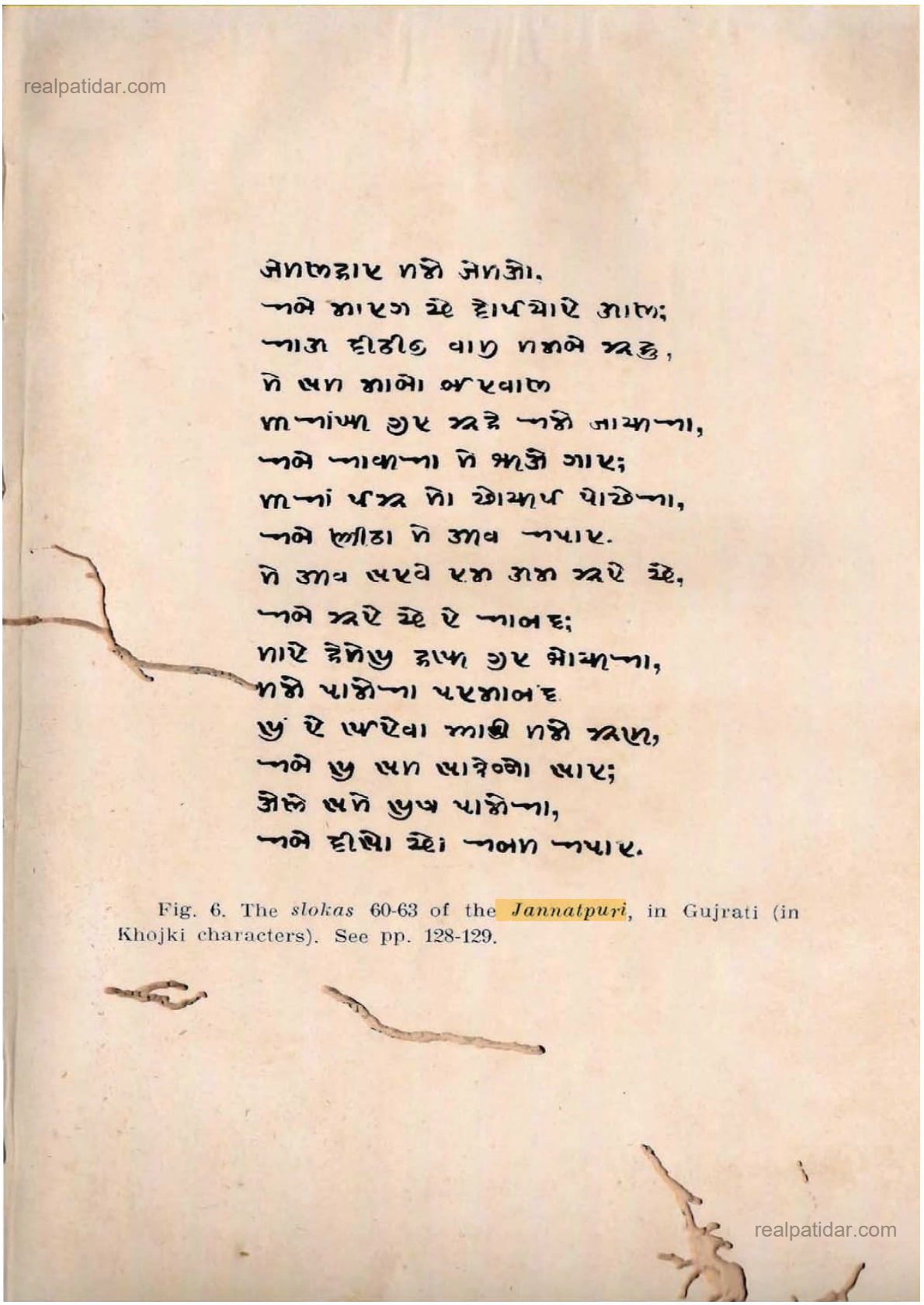

Fig. 6. The *slokas* 60-63 of the *Jannatpuri*, in Gujrati (in Khojki characters). See pp. 128-129.

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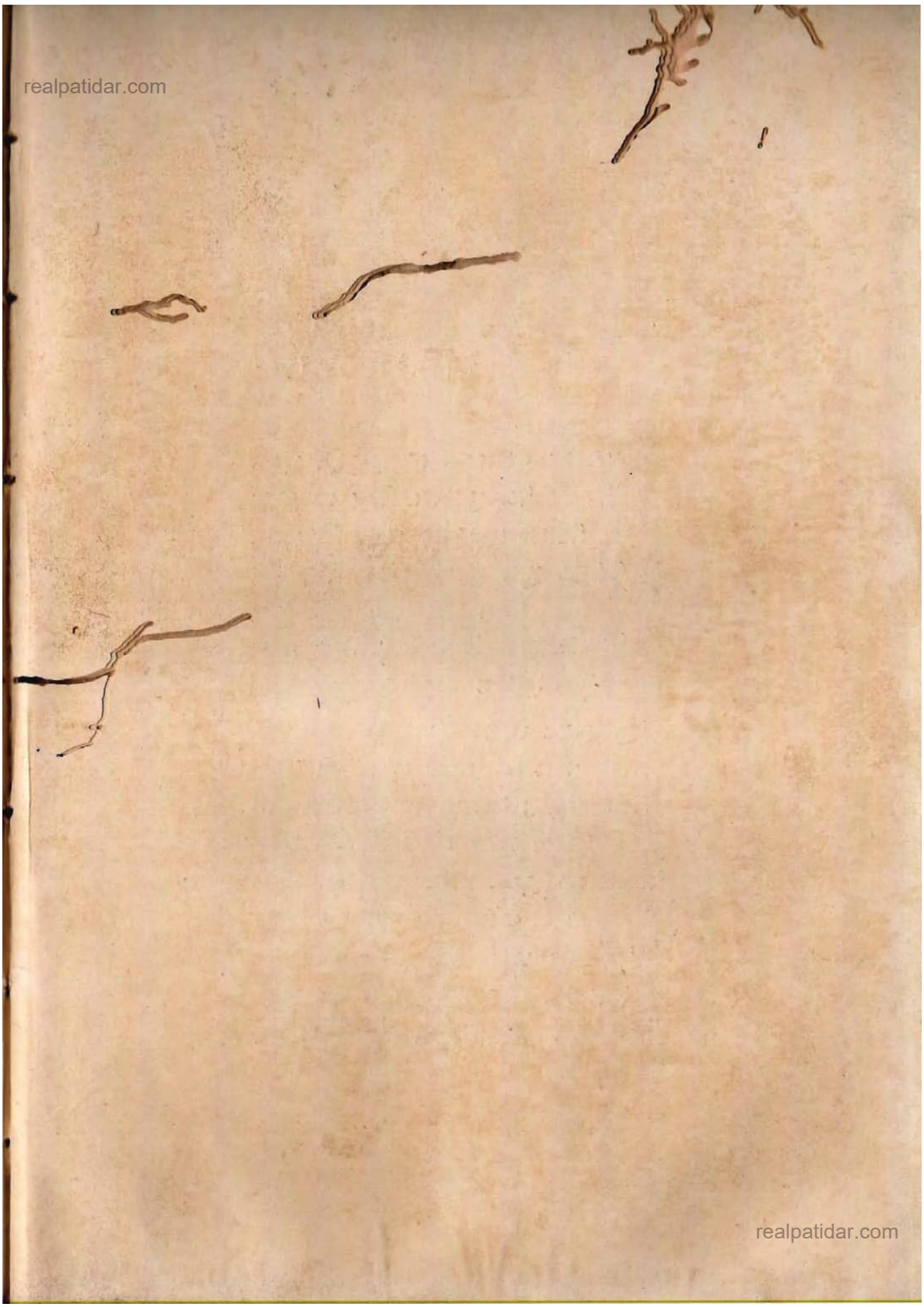

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305. *Sat Gur* lifted the piece of mutton on a spear (*neja*, i.e. Pers. *nayza*), holding it before the sun.[1] The sun descended and remained just over it. The whole world became terrified.

306. The people began to burn, raising a great wail. thinking the Judgment Day had come and they had no means to reach the Goal.

307. The people and the king began to burn; birds and beasts jumped in agony. They deeply repented, but none could stop the calamity.

308. None could approach the sun. All suffered terribly and looked for the one who had caused the catastrophe.

309. When the piece of mutton was properly fried, and the sun returned to its place, *Sat Gur* asked the boy where they should go to take their meal as they were very hungry...

III. THE FOURTEEN JEWELS OF *PIR* SHAMS.

The first Jewel : Above all you must love your Lord. You must treasure this precious jewel with great care.

The second Jewel : you should know the laws of the *Guru* by heart, and rever the Lord of the Time and the *Pîr* with true faith as is appropriate to them.

The third Jewel : the knowledge of the inner meaning of the religion. This is received by true believers who know their religion, and act according to its rules.

The fourth Jewel : is the knowledge of how to be modest, tolerant, merciful, and of tenderness toward, and recognition of the Lord of the Time and the *Pîr*, with a pure and true heart.

The fifth Jewel : to serve the *Guru*, or the stranger (guest) who comes to your door. Blessings are due to him who serves both well.

The sixth Jewel : to serve one's father and mother affec-

[1] Ascetics and darwishes often carry a stick with a sharp end, like a spear, as a defence against dogs and in various emergencies. The *qalandars* carried real spears and other forms of arms.

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tionately and lovingly. Keep this precious jewel in thy heart.

The seventh Jewel : not to turn away any stranger who comes to thy door in need. O, believer, do not let him go away without his need being satisfied.

The eighth Jewel : to go to the rescue of anyone in distress and calamity, as soon as you hear the call, helping him with food or water, or whatever he needs. In reward for this you will surely enter Paradise.

The ninth Jewel : to act honestly, and have pure and strong faith in God and Muḥammad. By doing so you will receive true happiness.

The tenth Jewel : never to neglect any of the observances of the three fixed times of the day. Prayers are like tithes ordered by the Lord.

The eleventh Jewel : always to wish that desires should be fulfilled by God; always to speak circumspectly; always pray to the Lord to grant truthfulness; never to annoy anyone by words. Note that the ties of this world are as entangling as a pit in Hell. Ask the Lord of the Time to grant your good wishes.

The twelfth Jewel : the true believer will never annoy a child who is a smile of the Divinity; he should not be angry with any kind of ants, or water insects, or any aquatic animals or quadrupeds. He should live as a dead man. He should have as much love for God as a butterfly for the burning candle.

The thirteenth Jewel : to sacrifice one's life in the path of righteousness and truth. By this you will attain salvation as did king Harishchandra, his queen Tara-Rani-Lochni, and his son Rohidas, who sold themselves (into slavery) for the sake of the truth.

The fourteenth Jewel : to donate everything for the sake of God, spontaneously, and with good will. This will bring much reward in future life. The donor will enjoy the fruit of it for ever.

These fourteen jewels were publicly recited by *Pîr* Shams.

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IV. GNANS.

1. By Pîr Shams [1].

(in the Kachchhi Dialect).

1. If you make your hearts follow the precepts of your *pîr*, you will be rewarded.

(*Refrain*) : Listen to me, my brothers ! Listen to me, my friends !

2. Listen with all the sincerity of your hearts to these, listen with all the faith of your true hearts ! (*Refrain*). Strive to enter into communion with him, the *pîr*, as does the Anad bird. [2] (*Refrain*).

3. Do this in accordance with the commandments of religion ! (*Refrain*). Behave as did Vimras, o, *mu'mins*, brothers, behave as Vimras ! (*Refrain*).

4. For the sake of the salvation of his soul (*Refrain*) he himself cut off his own head ! (*Refrain*).

5. You should remove doubts from your mind ! (*Refrain*). Then will you enter Paradise ! (*Refrain*).

6. This body belongs to others ! (*Refrain*). You are a guest of it for only two days. (*Refrain*).

7. Proceed along the path, one behind the other (*Refrain*) as a string of camels, each tied by the halter to the one in front. (*Refrain*).

8. Step on, one after the other, (*Refrain*), o, *mu'mins* ! Proceed along your path, led by your Guru ! (*Refrain*).

9. Listen to these words, o, my brothers, listen ! (*Refrain*). This *gnan* of appeal is recited by *Pîr* Shams. (*Refrain*).

2. By Pîr Naṣiru'd-dîn. [3]

1. I glorify Thee, my Lord, have mercy, make this world perfect !

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[1] No. 6 from the collection of 25 *gnans* in the Kachchhi dialect, printed in Bombay, 1920.

[2] I could not discover what the Anad bird is. Is it duck ?

[3] From the collection of 100 *gnans*, forming part II, no. 57.

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2. O, brethren, if you donate nothing, you will receive nothing, you cannot expect to reap where you have not sown.
3. Why should you eat a small portion of what belongs to the Lord, if you cannot be satisfied even by eating the whole of it ?
4. That which tastes sweet for you will then taste bitter. Therefore why should you taste it at all ?
5. If you retain that which should be given in tithes, this will harm you. What will be the use then of appealing to the Lord ?
6. Only those who are morally blind would eat even a single mouthful of what is to be donated in the name of the Lord.
7. He will be caught and led away as a thief. Such man cannot be called righteous.
8. His punishment in Hell will be to embrace a hot pillar. He will burn, uttering cries "oh, oh."
9. He will sink in the affairs of this world just as a pot filled with water sinks deep in the well.
10. *Pîr* Naṣîru'd-dîn, the son (*farzand*) [1] of *Pîr* Shams, says : we are filled with belief in our Lord as a glass filled with nectar !

3. *By Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn.*

(This *gnan*, in Gujrati, is recited daily before the evening prayers).

1. O, brothers, always pray God in the evening and morning ! Recite the *gnan* in praise of the *Naklank* ! The True Guide, Sohedev (i.e., *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn) has shown you the Path. The *Guru* of the twelve crores (120 millions) of followers, he, *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, has shown you the right direction !

2. The unutterable "High Word" (*dhikr*) is known

[1] As has been mentioned above, p. 16, the original word used here is Persian *farzand*, which may also mean a descendant generally, not only a son. The former seems to be the case.

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to the devotees. By knowing it they have saved their souls from the wheel of re-birth.

3. The mystery of becoming immortal is known to ascetics. They have brought about salvation to the seventy one generations of their ancestors.

4. He who possesses the true knowledge of the Atherved (i.e., the Coran) knows well that the tenth *avatâr* of the Merciful, the Lord of the Time, is (now) unveiled. [1]

5. Various tunes of music are there (in Paradise ?) played, and the mortals of the earth are confounded when the mystery of His manifestation is revealed to them.

6. O, men of God, never feel ashamed to be devoted to worship. Devote yourselves to the Lord of the Time, keeping your body and mind in purity.

7. The adherence to the six schools of Hindu philosophy is of no value whatever [2] because these do not teach the mystery of the Right Path.

8. O, my brothers, if you advance along the True Path, you are welcome ! You will reach the goal that hundreds of thousands of pure souls have already reached (before you).

9. O, you who heed good advices ! Beware of doing evil, strive to act virtuously.

10. O, faithful, — says *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, — listen to me : this negligent world does not possess the knowledge of the mystery of the Lord of the Time !

4. *By Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn.*

(This *gnan* is recited in *jamât-khânas* at the celebration of every solemn and auspicious occasion).

1. May gladness and happiness fill your hearts, O, faithful, because you have a Glorious Lord !

2. Come together, O, faithful, and do only that which is good at your assemblees !

[1] This implies 'Alî and the Imams, his direct descendants.

[2] These are also called *Khat Darshan*, the six philosophical schools : Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Samkhya, Yoga, Mimansa and Vedanta.

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3. My Lord's name is glorified by the faithful of India.

4. My Lord will save them, rewarding them for meritorious actions.

5. Pay tithes, worship the Lord of the time, earning salvation by these acts of piety.

6. It is hard to follow the Path in these difficult times. These are the times which have been predicted.

7. The true *Guru*-Brahma, *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, thus advises those who should be warned.

5. *By Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn.*

1. Sincere love for God brings happiness, as the dawn brings light after the darkness of the night.

2. Those who never remember the Almighty (*Datar*) waste their lives.

3. He who is so unlucky as to stray from the Path of God, i.e. that of the Lord of the Time, will be estranged from the *Guru* and the Lord.

4. He who is absorbed in the pleasures of this world which are like a mirage, forgetting the other world, has lost his reasoning ability.

5. Do good, earning the reward which you will reap in the other world,

6. In the name of the Lord of the Time who will srtetch out his hand to you, Shree Salâm Shâh,[1] and will give you refuge.

7. "We are but imperfect and sinful." In this way *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn recites his *gnan* of prayers.

6. *By Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn (Describing Paradise).*

(in the Multani Panjabi Language).

1. O, my friends ! The faithful will go to Paradise by the intercession of Muḥammad.

[1] Salâm Shâh, referred to here, in case the *gnan* really belongs to the authorship of Ṣadru'd-dîn, can only be 'Abdu's-Salâm Shâh, the father of Shâh Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh II. He lived in Anjudân, and flourished in the second half of the IX/XV c.

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2. There they will attain perfect happiness, enjoying nectar like food and wearing rich garments.
3. They will reside in golden-domed palaces and silver-toped towers.
4. Various jewels, gems, diamonds and pearls are inset in these, and rubies are inlaid.
5. A carpet with six borders studded with pearls will be spread over their bedstead.
6. There will also be a swing with the board studded with diamonds for the enjoyment of the *mu'mins*
7. O, friends ! Sitting as kings on their bejewelled thrones, they will be offered any fruit they may wish to eat.
8. Various horses (*kalaji, taji, seta*) [1] and mules (like Burâq) will be roaming (for them) there.
9. Water wheels, rotating day and night, with their sound of *koonh-koonh*, will bring much water for them.
10. Four fountains, of wine, sharbat, honey and milk, will run there.
11. Musky breezes will blow at night; during the day they will bring the fragrance of incense.
12. The *mu'mins* will do what they like, never feeling hot or cold.
13. Those who kept under control the five evils of mind will receive immortal bodies in Paradise,
14. just as those who fought and drove away these five : pride, quarrelsomeness, lust, anger and jealousy.
15. They will always have communion with their Lord in a palace.
16. Their bodies will be luminous (*nûrânî*) when the Lord of the souls of the fourteen worlds arises.
17-18. My friends, each *mu'min* will receive fifty hurries, all beautiful, obedient, standing with folded hands awaiting the command of their lord.
19. The gently swaying hurries will be like swans, with glittering crowns on their heads.

Cf. my paper on the "Tombs of some Persian Ismaili Imams", p. 54.

[1] *Kalaji* may mean *Khiljî*, *Taji* is *Tâzi*, i.e. Arab, and *Seta* I cannot find.

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20. The hair of the virgin hurries will be scented with various kinds of oil, and flowers of superb fragrance will be in their tresses.
21. *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn says that the *mu'mins* beloved by their Lord will have His *dîdâr* (there).

7. *By Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn.*[1]

(in the Sindhi language).

1. O, servant of God (*bana*) ! Thou dost not pray to God, having slept through the whole night ! Thou dost not care for thy soul, thou dost not prepare provision for the journey to the next world !

Refrain : The Lord loves only those who rise early to offer their prayers !

The hurries will not give their hands to those who do not rise early in the morning to say prayers. The lazy one will (later) repent, rubbing their hands and saying : alas ! alas ! So says the farmer who has wasted the sowing season. (*Refrain*).

2. O, servant of God (*bana*) ! Thou art doing wrong by not leaving thy bed early. By this thou wastest the capital (of thy soul) for nothing, "for the scent of red flowers." (*Refrain*).
3. O, servant of God (*bana*) ! Thou shalt only remember Him when thy grave is open, with thorns in it, and when the angel of death overwhelms thee ! (*Refrain*).
4. Spinning woman ! She spun when others slept. She spun much cotton alone, thoroughly. (*Refrain*).
5. When she finished her work, and prepared the yarn, thick and thin, she could smile with pride amongst her people in the morning ! (*Refrain*).
6. None will take away with him his palaces, treasure, houses, horses, his wealth while leaving this world. (*Refrain*).

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[1] From the collection of 25, in Sindhi, printed in Bombay, no. 2.

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7. *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn says : listen to me, O, my dear brothers! God will be pleased only with those who recognise the Lord of the time, and the *Pîr*. (*Refrain*).

8. *A Gnan by Pîr Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn.*[1]

1. An iron wall appeared on the *Gur*'s way on the seventeenth day of the month Ashad 1452 Samvat (798/1396).[2]
2. The *Guru*, i.e. *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn, prayed for six months and six days, and at last the Imam was propitiated (to remove it).
3. He, the Imam, was in the dress (=person) of Islâm Shâh who resided in Kehek.[3]
4. When the *Gur*, i.e. Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, reached the age of five years and five days, he made preparations for the journey. He made a turban from the fibre of *akda*, in the month of Magser, 1453 Samvat.
5. He himself prepared it from 500 *gaz* (yards) of material, with glorifications of the Imam written on it. Then he started.
6. In the inscriptions the *Guru* mentions that he was a slave of the Imam, a child, and that he prayed to forgive the sins of the *Anant*.
7. He had no children at the time when he went, with his turban, to visit the Imam, and returned home in a year and five days' time.
8. *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn with twelve crores (120 millions) of followers went into the presence of the Almighty. He

[1] The last *gnan* from the collection of 100 *gnans* forming part V.

[2] It is explained that the "iron wall" (perhaps really a "front" between two hostile armies) appeared before the *pîr* as a punishment for his neglect. He did not take with him his five years old son, the future *pîr*, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. The date seems to be surprisingly early.

[3] It is obviously the same 'Abdu's-Salâm Shâh, mentioned above (p. 106). As Kahak is not far from Anjudân, in which he resided, it is quite probable that, at least temporarily, he might have resided there.

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halted at the sixth heaven waiting for the souls who were lagging behind.

9. "The souls who remain behind should follow *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn." This is why I (i.e. *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn) now pray and practice austerities for the sake of the *Anant*.

10. Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, of the progeny of Ḥusayn, is appointed as he *Guru* of the *Anant*. If you fail to recognize him, you will be sent to Hell.

11. (The Imam) Shri Salâm Shâh arrived in Kehek and stayed there during the month of Ramjan (Ramaḍân) 1452 Samvat.

12. (The Imam) Bhooder Ali (i.e. Abû Dharr 'Alî) is his successor as the Imam.[1] His residence (throne) was in the village of Vircha, where he stayed.[2]

13. Then came Dhû'l-Fiqâr 'Alî, the Imam, who descended from Bû Dharr 'Alî, the progeny of Ḥusayn.[3]

14. He arrived in Vircha on the 22nd day of the month of Falgoon, 1572 (=922/1516).[4]

15. On that day the Imam arrived and settled there. Nûr Shâh descended from him. He was enthroned as an Imam.[5]

16. The *Guru* (Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn ?) says : I related all this about the incarnations (of the Imam) while residing at Unch. It is "Sri Unch", amongst the seven

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[1] Imam Bû Dharr 'Alî flourished towards the end of the tenth/sixteenth c., more than a hundred years after the death of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn.

[2] I could find no indication as to whether such village existed at the time. Was it War ?

[3] Imam Dhû'l-fiqâr 'Alî died in 1043/1634, in Anjudân, and was buried in the family necropolis there. The names of the later Imams were most probably inserted by the translators, in order to bring the poem up-to-date.

[4] The date must obviously be imaginary. There is no village called Vircha now. Perhaps it is the same as War, half way between Kahak and Maḥallât ?

[5] *Nûr Shâh* must be a honorific title, not a personal name. Perhaps it is simply a "blank space" left for the later Imam, to be inserted by the reader when reciting the *gnan* ?

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places which bear the same name, to which I here refer.

17. Recognize the Imam of the time (*Imâm-i waqt*) who is an incarnation of 'Alî, and pay him the tithes. Whoever misses him will never enter Paradise."

18. *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn says these words at his own house : you will enter Paradise if you act righteously.

9. *The Gnan "of Deep Meditation"*, by Sayyid Fatḥ-'Alî Shâh. *(in Gujrati)*.[1]

1. No one has the knowledge of the Mystery of the Lord of the Time, the Naklanki. Only those can recognize him who are guided by the *Guru*.

2. Know the true *Guru* in the person of Muḥammad, the Apostle of God. The Almighty, who is immortal and free from (human-like) attributes and properties, is in the person of the (present form) of 'Alî.

3. The Lord of the Time now resides in the West, disguised as an 'Ajamî (Persian). His speech is Persian, in the Seheter-dip.[2]

4. He resides in Shahr Babak[3] and his name is Shâh Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî. He is luminous in appearance.[4]

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[1] From the collection of 25 *gnans* printed in 1905, Bombay, by Lalji Bhai Devraj, no. 22.

[2] Seheter-dip, the "Northern continent", is one of the traditional *dvipas* of the Hindu cosmology, so called because it has the form of the *seheter* fruit (also called *shetur*). The name is usually applied to Persia and Iraq.

[3] Shahr-i Bâbak is an old, now decaying town in the province of Kirmân which was formerly on a trade route, but in modern times remained far away from the new roads. The Imams apparently resided in it some time during the early Safawid rule, and later on in the second half of the XII/XVIII c.

[4] Shâh Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî really resided in Shahr-i Bâbak. He was the governor of Kirmân about 1175/1762, and died in 1204/1790. He was buried in the Mushtâqiyya, in Kirmân. Cf. my paper on the "Tombs of some Persian Ismaili Imams", pp. 60-61.

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5. Repeat his name because he is the Divine Light (emanating from) the invisible Almighty. May he fulfil our wishes of the *dîdâr !*

6. His *dîdâr* is all-important because the believer who has faith in his *Guru* can be saved by it from the wheel of re-birth.

7. My Lord is the Lord of the devotees. O, my Lord ! Have mercy on us, give salvation to our *jamâts !*

8. The Deity manifests itself in the heart of the believer as if appearing from the lotus grown from the navel of god.[1] Cautiously pull it out, in such a way that the thread of deep meditation should not be torn.

9. Meditate, keeping an eye on thy pulses of Ingla, Pingla and Sashamna, suppressing all mental wishes.[2]

10. After this concentrate your mind on the pulse called Vank, by inhaling and exhaling through the Chanda and Suraj nostrils.

11. If thy meditation is deeply concentrated on it (the deity), it will burst out of the *bharamand* (brain), and His name will spread all over the body to the last hair growing on it, and will never be forgotten again.

12. The humble slave, a Shamsi[3] Sayyid, Fatḥ-ʿAlî Shâh, stands praying at Thy feet, O, my Lord ! O, Thou, who rainest gold !

V. THE TENTH AVATAR.

(From the *Dasavatar* attributed to *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn ; the shorter version).[4]

(in the Gujrati language).

God has incarnated Himself as the glorious Tenth Avatar He manifested Himself in the person of Shâh Mawlâ Murtaḍâ ʿAlî.

[1] The well-known symbol from Hindu iconography.

[2] These are the names of the pulses located in and near the nose.

[3] Shamsî probably implies that the author claimed descent from *Pîr* Shams, and thus generally from the *pîrs*.

[4] From *Nano Das Avatar*, print. Bombay, 1929, pp. 17-20.

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We welcome Thy incarnation for the sake of love for the Truth !

The Lord will ride his horse, bestowing love and benevolence (and scattering devils).

O, Thou, save Thy devotees !
O, Thou, scatter the devils !
O, Thou, punish the demons !
O, Thou, save the *jamâts* of the believers !
O, Thou, grant what they wish !
O, Thou, fulfill Thy promises !

He will take into his hands the sounding conch (*shank*) and the disclike weapon (*chaker*).

Blowing the conch and brandishing the *chaker*, He will pass all over the world.

The whole purpose of the Ten Avatars will thus be completed.

He has given up the necessity of being in the mother's womb.[1]

The Lord, the Ruler of Jambudip, will arrive (make his appearance) in Mulastan.[2]

He will grant the kingdom to the *rakhiser*, devotees who will rule over it eternally.

The devotees will take abode in Paradise.

He is the Lord of *pîr* Sohdev.[3]

He is manifested under the name of Naklanki.

O, my Lord, Thou art my God in the Tenth Incarnation, Thou has incarnated as the glorious Tenth Avatar in the person of Naklanki, whose glorious name is Shâh Mawlâ Murtaḍâ 'Alî !

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[1] This is simply a poetical version of the Coranic principle of God "neither being born, nor giving birth to anyone".

[2] Mulastan is the ancient name of Multân.

[3] It seems that there is no certainty as to the meaning of the name Sohdev which is supposed to be the surname of *pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn.

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Mawlâ Murtaḍâ 'Alî is He who is (now) Shri Salâm-Shâh. [1]

The name of the mother of Mawlâ Murtaḍâ 'Alî was Bibi Julika. [2] His father's name is Hashami Abû Ṭâlib Walî.

The *Guru* (of the world) is Nabî Muḥammad Muṣṭafâ, the Apostle of God.

His wife, Shakti, was Fatmat-Zahura (Faṭimat az-Zahrâ'). [3]

He will remain manifested under the name of Mawlâ Murtaḍâ 'Alî for 432.000 years.

God is Glorious, Glorious is the Lord !

The duration of the Kalijug period is 432.000 years.

Atherved is the sacred scripture (for the Kalijug period).

One avatar of God is intended for the Kalijug.

God Himself will slay His adversary, the devil Kalinga.

He has saved twelve crores of the faithful through the leadership of *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn.

They followed the religion secretly.

They surely deserved their place in Paradise ! Greetings to them !

God is glorious, Glorious is the Lord !

Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn says : I have told the story of the Ten Avatars. Whosoever listens to it will be exempted from the wheel of re-birth in this world.

Whosoever listens to the story of the Ten Avatars will attain salvation (*moksh*), liberation (*mukt*) and the *dîdâr* (of the Imam). [4]

Whosoever, male or female, listens to this, he will never again be re-born in this world.

Such people will be rewarded as Pehlaj who attained salvation and was granted the everlasting kingdom.

The Lord has granted a kingdom to Dhruv, [5] and he is ruling over it for ever.

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[1] This is again Imam 'Abdu's-Salâm Shâh of Anjudân, referred to above.

[2] Cf. above p. 46.

[3] Cf. above p. 47.

[4] Perhaps in this context the term *dîdâr* may have the meaning of the Sufic *fanâ fi'l-Ḥaqq* ?

[5] Cf. above, footnote 3 on p. 57.

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The Lord will give kingdoms to the devotees, and they will rule over them for ever.
The devotees will have abode in Paradise.
He is the Lord of *Pîr* Sohdev !
He is known under the name of Naklanki.
O, my Lord, purify the world! Save Thy devotees! Scatter the devils!
Punish the demons! Save the jamâts of the believers! Grant their prayers ! Fulfil Thy promises !
Thou art my God in the Tenth Avatar!
Thou hast incarnated Thyself in Naklanki!
Thou hast been known by the name of Mawlâ Murtaḍâ 'Alî.
We welcome Thy incarnation out of love for the Truth!
Here ends the story of the Ten Avatars related by *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn.
I testify that there is no Deity except One God.
I testify that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.
I testify that *Amîru'l-mu'minîn* 'Alî is surely Divine.

VI. SO-KIRIYA.

By *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn. [1]

1. *Bavan Bodh* (Preamble).

1. The advice of *Sat Gur* is true.
2. Listen to it, O, devotees! and enjoy it in your minds.
3. When the sun rises, go about your worldly affairs, acting honestly.
4. When the sun sets, devote yourselves to the worship of God.
5. Abstain from speaking ill of anyone.
6. Say: "*he, Zinda*" (O, ever-Living!) when stepping into the *jamât-khâna* (prayer-hall).
7. Keep your minds shining as the moon to receive the precepts of *Sat Gur*.
8. This is the *sandhya* (evening prayer) of devotees.
9. O, devotees, keep your minds concentrated on prayer.

[1] Published by Mukhi Laljibhai Devraj, Bombay, 1914, pp. 7.

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10. Meeting at the *Ghaṭ*, assembly, do your best to go through religious ceremonies with care.
11. As soon as you acquire control over your mind, selfishness disappears.
12. Never fall asleep in the prayer-hall.
13. Never criticize anyone while in the prayer-hall.
14. Never over-eat, over-filling your stomachs.
15. If your stomachs are too full, you will become lazy.
16. You may therefore become sleepy, and for this you will have to repent.
17. Through abstinence and moderation you will become active.
18. If you pray God with your minds awake, you will see that *Sat Gur* is near you.
19. Be humble and modest both with those who are elder and younger than yourselves.
20. Be tolerant towards the shortcomings you notice in those who are older than yourselves.
21. Treat everyone who is even one day older than yourselves as if he were a year older.
22. Address everyone with sincere respect.
23-24. Even those who are younger than yourselves should be treated with respect as if they were your elder brothers.
25-26. Brother, one who speaks politely is like one whose mouth is filled with glittering diamonds.
27-28. The mystery of coming into communion with *Sat Gur* is that the devotees never become disheartened in anything.
29. Never be lazy, permitting yourselves to be somnolent.
30. Avoid telling lies, according to the commandment of the Veds.
31-32. One who hears good and speaks evil will surely get into trouble.
33. Brother, keep yourself away from laziness and anger.
34. Have signs of light on thy face by sipping the *âb-i ṣafâ* every day.
35. Come from your homes to the praying hall.

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36. You will have goodness reflected in your faces for this.
37. Make offerings according to your means.
38. Never argue with the *mukhi*, i.e. the head of the *jamât*.
39. Only those who are absorbed in worldly affairs argue with the *mukhi*.
40. For this they will become miserable and lose the religious reward.
41. One who misbehaves himself is a sinner.
42. He talks of things about which he knows nothing.
43-44. One who remains in the state of *sutak* (ceremonial uncleanliness, without purifying himself) will harm himself and will end miserably.
45. A religious man never quarrels with anyone.
46. Only those who are not strong in religion feel dissatisfied.
47. Concentrate your minds, and keep the *Rosary* (i.e. *So kiriya*) in your hands.
48. Pray to God secretly and silently, with all your soul.
49. Meditate over the commandments of religions scriptures concentrating your minds on these,
50. And ascertain who is your worst enemy.
51-2. The believer who takes a sip of *âb-i ṣafâ* (*Aniras*) will always have good signs reflected on his face, and will be relieved of misfortunes by *Sat Gur*.
53. Those who are (sincerely) devout are in possession of such virtues.
54. O, devotee, now listen to the Hundred Commandments!

2. *So-kiriya*.

1. Keep thy heart pure, away from defilement, — this is the first *kiriya*.
2. Take food only after having bathed thy body. This is the second *kiriya*.
3. Follow the prescription of Truthfulness, day and night.
4. Avoid sowing the seed of falsehood and cheating.
5. Treat everyone with sincere understanding and kindness.
6. Give alms only to deserving decent people.

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7. Understand (sympathetically) the suffering of those around thee.
8. Wholeheartedly accept the precepts of *Sat Gur*.
9. Never become proud when thou occupiest a superior position.
10. Never lose thy temper. This is the tenth *kiriya* (cf. no. 25).
11. If thou hast a proper chance, pay a visit to *Sat Gur*.
12. Never perform religious duties negligently.
13. Never fail to attend the assembly (*ghaṭ*) with the *jamât*.
14. Pray to God, prostrating thyself in the *ghaṭ* which is like the face of he *Guru*.
15. Only those who daily take a sip of the *âb-i ṣafâ* are to be regarded as pious.
16. One who can always suppress his pride may be considered fortunate.
17. Never be greedy, even to the slightest extent.
18. Be honest in any circumstances.
19. (True) devotees (*rakhiser*) never tell lies.
20. Pay the utmost care in attending to thy guests.
21. Feed the hungry.
22. Offer water to the thirsty.
23. Earn reward by covering the nakedness of the unclothed.
24. Bear patiently any loss caused by members of thy own family.
25. Never lose thy temper even if abused a hundred times. (cf. no. 10).
26. Repay evil done to thee with good.
27. Do not defraud anyone, always pay in full.
28. Do not demand anything in excess of what is due to thee.
29. Do not cast the evil eye upon anyone.
30. Never have sexual intercourse with other people's wives.
31. Never give false evidence, nor speak of what thou dost not know.
32. Never deceive or swindle anyone.
33. Never utter a threat to beat anyone.

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34. Do not live on money derived from usury.
35. Do not sell bones.
36. Do not sell an animal which thou maintainest.
37. Never make a valuation of land (in terms of money). It is similar to thy mother.
38. Do not demand money as bride-price for thy daughter.
39. Always treat thy daughters kindly.
40. You must certainly act according to these forty *kiriyas*.
41. Never take bribes, even as much as a *rati* (a form of bread).
42. O, virtuous man, never keep a faked document with thee.
43. After relieving thyself use five *achman* (sips of water).
44. Wash thy organs after urinating.
45. Take three *achman* (sips of water) after urinating.
46. Never keep thy body unclean.
47. Use clay while washing thy hands.
48. Without it thy body will not be cleaned.
49. Never drink muddy water.
50. Do not kill intentionally any living creature.
51. Never eat assa foetida and tobacco.
52. Always behave thyself as if thou art continually fasting.
53. Never eat crumbs or remains of food left by others.
54. Never wear a dress made of cloth coloured with indigo.
55. Observe fast on the days prescribed by religion.
56. Never worship stones or mountains.
57. Never accept as a deposit money of doubtful origin.
58. O, creature! Never miss the time fixed for prayers.
59. Be dutiful, repeat the names of God in prayers.
60. Never partake of food which was not offered to thee, — this is a great sin.
61. O, brother! Do not develop (unduly) great ambitions.
62. Treat the wife of thy elder brother as thy own mother.
63. Avoid the company of bad people.
64. Do not tie thy turban in a pretentious way.
65. O, hermit! Do not report the words of others, good or bad, to those concerned.
66. Never annoy thy neighbour.

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67. Never commit a breach of trust.
68. Never pick up anything lost by others.
69. Never intentionally deceive anyone.
70. Never fail to return the money that thou hast borrowed, or the value of the goods purchased on credit.
71. Never run away with someone else's money.
72. He who does this will be punished by being incarnated as his creditor's son.
73. Never intentionally use abusive language.
74. Never do foolish things.
75. Every one has equal right to see *Gur-Nar*, i.e. the Lord of the Time,
76. But he who sees Him in His real substance is a courageous man.
77. Never argue with anyone, whether thou feel right or wrong.
78. O, righteous man! Never gamble.
79-80. Do not listen to music or singing, nor watch theatrical performances as they lead to depravity and loss of religious discipline.
81-82. Never say of any food cooked of corn that it is oversalted, or undersalted. Always praise it, never revile.
83-84. Always bathe thyself early in the morning, before going out, and have no sexual intercourse after this.
85. No one can attain salvation by the worship of Khaṭ Darshan. [1]
86. Never revile the commandments of the Ved and (generally) religious scripture.
87. Never eat while walking.
88. Live reasonably, and observe cleanliness.
89-90. Do not commit suicide by poisoning or drowning thyself, as in such a case thou shalt be re-born, in the wheel of re-birth.
91. Never develop ambition to acquire much wealth or land.
92. Never entrust secrets to any woman.
93. Do not intentionally sprinkle water over fire.
94. Never break a live tree.

[1] Cf. above, p. 105.

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95. Never pick flowers in the morning, this is a grave sin.
96. Never criticise or disclose to others anyone's defects.
97. Never torture dumb creatures.
98. Never leave in anger the food that thou eatest.
99. They are true believers who act in accordance with religious precepts.
100. O, hermits! Act according to these hundred commandments!

3. *Sahi Samarani*

(or 30 good advices worthy of remembrance)

1. Always remember God.
2. Be virtuous as the *Gur* by taking a drink of the Deity.
3. Give sincere advice to everyone who asks for it.
4. The *Mu'min* is he whose conduct is the best.
5. O, devotee! Discharge thy religious duties as dictated by reason.
6. Put upon thyself the sacred thread of the hundred *kiriyas*.
7-8. Only those who attained communion with the *Gur Brahama-ji* are (real) Brahmins; they will not undergo the sufferings of further re-birth.
9. Only those are (real) Brahmins who know the *Braham gnan*, i.e. the knowledge of the mysteries.
10. The sight of *Gur-Nar* is the same as the light of the eyes.
11. Communion with *Gur-Nar*, the Lord of the Time, is as meritorious as 68 pilgrimages.
12. Sixty and eight places of pilgrimage lie under the feet of *Gur-Nar*.
13. The manifested *Gur-Nar* is always present in the *ghaṭ* (assembly of the *jamât*).
14. Fortunate are those who have seen Him with their own eyes.
15-16. Studying sacred scriptures and by meditation thou wilt make certain that an incarnation of God is manifested in the world.

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17. Concentrate thy mind in meditation with a pure heart.
18. The real devotee (*rakhiser*) is he who possesses spiritual knowledge.
19. The real ascetic (*muniwar*) is he who has the control of his passions.
20. The real ascetic makes his body as hard as a jewel by enduring difficulties of prayers and other religious duties.
21. Always clean thy body on rising from thy bed, early in the morning.
22. Never eat crumbs of food left by animals.
23. Always take thy food only after having cleaned thy body.
24. Always look upon the world with pure sight.
25. Be humble and respectful while in the *ghaṭ* (assembly of the *jamât*).
26. Obey ungrudgingly all the rules of the *ghaṭ* (*jamât*).
27-28. Only those step into Paradise who have professed the *Kalima* of the Apostle of God.
29-30. Those who concentrate their minds in meditation over the Lord of the Time have really acted in accordance with the 100 *kiriyas*.
31-32. These words of *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn are similar to jewels amongst (other) precepts of the sacred scriptures, for the meditating mind.

VII. JANNATPURI, OR THE CITY OF PARADISE.

By Sayyid Imâm-Shâh.[1]

1. O, brothers! Imamshah has said these *gnans*. And what are his sayings? The Light of eternal life! — When shares (in inheritance) were being distributed (by his father), he, Imamshah, happened to be absent (and nothing was given to him).
2. Listen, this happened in the year of Savant 1575, the

[1] Printed in Bombay (in Gujrati, but in Khojki script), 1905, by Lalji-bhai Devraj; pp. 26.

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month of Kartik, on the 17th day,[1] that *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn emptied his earthly dress of flesh.[2]

3. He died at Onch[3] early in the morning, and the *Gor Nûr's* funeral procession was taken to the burial ground.

4. Imamshah, hearing of this, hurried thither, overtook the procession, and reached the *janâza* (*bier*). He stopped it and addressed the corpse, saying : "Dear father, thou hast not left me my share in inheritance."

5. His brothers and other participants in the procession thought that he had turned insane, making himself so ridiculous. Some began to laugh at him.

6. The Seven Wise men of Onch, and numerous spectators covered their faces with handkerchiefs to conceal smiles. (Many) laughed so much that their very bones began to ache.

7. Some people addressed Imamshah, saying : "Thy business is, no doubt, important, but it is not an appropriate time for it. The time is ripe to pay the bill, not to present a demand for a benefit."

8. Time passed in altercations ; nearly three hours passed in hot discussion. The people became hungry, being impatient over the hitch in the progress of the procession.

9. Then Imamshah turned towards the body of his father, asking him not to delay his answer, because people jeered at him and mocked him.

10. And behold! there came out of the bier the hand of the deceased *Gur!* The crowd, struck with awe, stood motionless. The hand of the deceased handed a rosary to Imamshah.

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[1] This is 925 A.H. or 1519 A.D. As has been discussed above, p. 51, the date appears to be too late to be true.

[2] This is the usual darwish expression. In Persian it is *khirqa-râ khâli kard.*

[3] As has been discussed above, p. 73, Onch is the present Uchchh, near which the tomb of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn (locally called Hasan Daryâ) is situated.

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11. While the hand was returning to its original position, he, Imamshah, said: "I shall never part with this little inheritance, the rosary. But bestow upon me also something more!"
12. Then the bier (*ṣunduq*) burst, so that the head of the deceased became visible, and, to the consternation of the crowd, the hand of the corpse took from its mouth a piece of sugar and handed it to Imamshah.
13. The whole crowd, seeing this, became filled with complete faith in Imamshah, trusting his rights, and the whole *jamât* became his sincere followers.
14. The bier was then lifted and carried to the burial ground, the body of *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn was buried. He thus left this world, returning to his original place, the True Source.
15. Women wept bitterly, and so did men also, members of the *jamât*, shedding tears. Returning from the cemetery, they asked *Pîr*[1] Imamshah to sit and explain to them the mystery about his share of his father's inheritance.
16. Having completed forty days in mourning at Onch, Imamshah left for Sind.
17. There he came to the district of Jun, and went to the *jamât*. He, the *Gur-ji*, honoured the *jamât-khâna* by taking seat there.
18. In the evening, however, the local people came to the *jamât-khâna* for prayers, and expelled him.
19. He remained in the village without food for full nine meal-times, fasting all the time. At the time of the tenth he walked away from the *jamât-khâna*.
20. During these happenings he received three heavy blows on his sides with a stick, never complaining, however, and in his heart he did not feel himself offended.
21. Then the *Guru* addressed the *jamât* of that place, saying:

[1] As has been mentioned above, p. 18, the Khojas do not recognize Imamshah as a *pîr*, but the followers of the different branches of his sect do.

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"Do not forget that I am a Sayyid, and give me some food for the sake of *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn.

22. The people of *jamât* replied to him: "We do not consider thee as *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn's successor, because he did not recognise thee as his successor and give thee thy share."

23. Whereupon the *Pîr* (Imamshah) added, saying: "O, brothers! Listen to me: I have no claim on you. Why should you be so intolerant?"

24-25. *Guru* said: we proceeded further from that village. A Khoja, Premji by name, however, followed me and said to me: "*Guru-ji*, come to my house, and have a meal. Then proceed further."

26. We (says Imamshah) broke our fast there. Premji bowed to me with respect. I took my meal there, and then started on my journey, giving many blessings to him.

27. Then the *Guru* says: "We went away, and reached the place called Bhom.[1] Arriving in that village, we wanted to visit the Shâh's (i.e. Imam's) *dargâh*."

28. Having spent 27 days there in complete fast, he went further to the West. He had no clothes to wear, travelling as a beggar.

29. It was the time when Nûr-Shâh (Imam)[2] reigned in Parcham-Desh (i.e. Western Country = Persia ?). *Mukhî* Ghulâm[3] was his servant. The *Guru* went to him, and asked him:

30. "Listen to me, to what I say, *Mukhî!* I am a poor stranger. I shall be purified if I am allowed to have the *Shâh's dîdâr* (i.e. to pay personal homage to him).

31. *Mukhî* Ghulâm, not recognizing him, thought that he really was an ordinary beggar. (Nevertheless) he, the *Mukhî*, went into the August Presence of the *Shâh*.

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[1] Cf. above, p. 51.

[2] Nûr Shâh is not a name, but a title. Cf. *sloka* 3 at the beginning of the *Jannatpuri* in which the deceased *pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn is called *Gor Nûr*. "Reigned" is the usual "polite" expression for "lived".

[3] Cf. above, p. 52.

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32. With his hands folded, he most humbly reported to the *Shâh:* "A poor stranger, looking like a beggar, has come, asking for the permission of your *dîdâr.*"
33. Thereupon the *Shâh*, laughing, said: "*Mukhî*, lend thy ears to what I say: that was a really great soul. Let him rest, accommodate him comfortably, and feed him well."
34. By this order the *Mukhî* returned to Imamshah, now paying him the respect that was due to him. Having made a scull-cap, the *Mukhî* went and sold it, bringing some food for the money realised from the sale.[1]
35. He brought food, fruits and grapes (*angûr*), all the food that he could buy for his money, and *Pir* Imamshah partook of all this.
36. He, the *Mukhî*, most respectfully and kindly offered him, the *Guru*, food to eat, and the *Guru* ate enough of it. After the meal the *Mukhî* inquired from him, as to his own and his father's names.
37. Seeing his love, the *Pîr* said: "I am a poor man who came for the *dîdâr*, listen to me."
38. Even then *Mukhî* Ghulâm failed to recognize who was before him, believing that it was an (ordinary) Khoja. For three days Pir Imamshah requested and beseeched him to take him for a *dîdâr*.
39. On the third day the *Guru* said: "Listen to me, *Mukhî*, we have come for a *dîdâr*. Three days and three nights have already passed.
40. Go and ask (thy Master) on my behalf, conveying my request and prayer after due salutations. Beseech him on my behalf a thousand times, and convey to him the tidings that my name is Sayyid Imamshah."
41. Then the *Mukhî* understood that he belonged to the family of the (late) *Guru-ji*. He behaved most obediently and reverently, treating his guest with honour.
42. He went (to the *Shâh*) and beseeched him on Imam-

[1] Cf. above, p. 52.

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shah's behalf, saying that he had brought a request (for a *dîdâr*) from Sayyid Imamshah. "Grant him thy *dîdâr*, O, Lord!"

43. Thereupon the *Shâh* said: "We shall come on Towar (Friday) night; prepare our throne in the *Jamât-khâna*, there shall we give (him) the *dîdâr*, and hold conversation."

44. The Lord of the three worlds then came on that night. We had the *dîdâr* of *Shâh* 'Alî. Our heart was elated by the vision.

45. I stood most humbly and obediently in his presence, praying to the *Shâh*: "Have mercy on me, O, True Lord! I am thy most obedient slave!

46. O, Lord! Having seen thee, as I desired, now that thou hast most graciously granted thy *dîdâr* to me, my soul's liberation (salvation) has been attained, I have attained my goal.

47. O, Lord! Thousands upon thousands of my wishes have been granted by Thee! Now I most humbly crave thy permission to go and visit Paradise! Grant me this mercifully so that I may visit it."

48. *Nûr Shâh* smiled at this request, and uttered: "No living human being can go there. How can the material body of flesh penetrate there? Thy father and grandfathers are there."

49. The *Guru*, however, insisted on his request, saying: "O, Lord! Thou art the Creator of the Universe! I have to claim my share of inheritance, this is why I ask permission to visit Paradise."

50. Thereupon the Lord gave him as a companion Chandan Vir.[1] He was an incarnation of Gabriel. He became my guide, and I followed him. He went into a cave, and I went after him.

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[1] Chandan means sandal, and Vir means brother. This does not seem to be the name of a man, but of a supernatural being. Here he is mentioned only once, and it is not clear what his functions were.

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51. To my great surprize I saw some people who were naked. They were weeping bitterly, while others were burning in fire.
52. Some wept standing outside the fire, some were inside it. Some were starving to death, others sat eating.
53. The *Guru-ji* smiled and asked them: "What (sinful) acts have you committed? Give us a reply, why are you in such a condition to-day?"
54. To this the people courteously replied: "Those who are sitting there are those who never gave anything in charity.
55. Those who did not give clothes (to the poor) are now naked and without food. This is their punishment.
56. Those who did not attend *Jamât-khâna* and offer prayers, did not meet their *gurus*, are now repenting for their having neglected the right path.
57. Those who did not perform the ceremonies of *sutak* and *patak*,[1] who did not offer prayers, attending the *Jamât-khânas*, now repent, loudly deploring what they had done. They shall remain there till the *Maha-den*, the day of Resurrection.
58. Those who did not join the religion of the Satpanth and never gave tithes (*dasondh*) of their earnings, how can they now have anything to eat? They must surely be starving.
59. The *Maha-den*, Day of Judgment, is to come, they still have long to wait. They will have to undergo these tortures till it comes. The *Shâh*[2] will preside over the judgment, — what will they be able to say then?
60. Those who are sensible must take this as warning. The path is full of obstacles and difficulties. I tell you what I have seen. This is true, you must believe this, because it is revealed by us.

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[1] State of ritual defilement.

[2] This obviously means 'Alî in the person of one of his descendants and successors, the Qâ'im in Ismailism.

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61. The *Guru-ji* continues, narrating how he proceeded further, and came to another cave. Some people there slept on comfortable beds (*dholiya*). There were many people, all looking happy and satisfied.
62. The *Guru-ji* asked them: "You have really achieved eternal happiness. What have you done to deserve this?
63. What meritorious actions have you committed to earn this eternal happiness, and are there so many of you in this crowd?"
64. Those souls then replied: "*Guru-ji*, listen to the reason of this: We were the devotees of *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, thy father.
65. We have attained all this glory and happiness through that true *guru*. What then will happen to those who have not offered thee any food or water?"
66. You will all receive reward for your actions. The *Mahaden* (Judgment day) commences from to-day, and shall continue till the day of Resurrection.
67. "At that time (continued the souls) the *Gurus* were *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn and *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, thy father. Those who do not obey you, *gurus*, will certainly be punished."
68. The *Guru* then said: "O, faithful! listen to me! Follow the commandments of your *Gurus*' *gnans*. Those who do not obey these *gnans* will suffer, being brought into such a state as this."
69. Says the *Guru:* "Then we walked further, and came to the gate behind which there were Hindu souls.
70. Those of them who righteously acted in this world were sitting, and had as much to eat as they wished. But those who forgot the Sat Panth had their faces blackened.
71. Those who follow the commandments of religion and act righteously without the guidance of the true *Guru*, will reach the sixth heaven. They will later on fall down, however, and their good actions will not avail (to prevent this).

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72. Sat Panth is the only true religion, all others are false. Only those who believe in *âl-i Imâm*[1] will be able to ascend to the seventh heaven."
73. The *Guru* then went to another place (or gate), behind which there were Muslims staying.
74. One of them was awake, one was asleep, and the third was busy reciting his prayers. Those who believed in the Prophet sincerely, have attained the Heaven.
75. The religion which was preached by the *Rasûl* (Apostle of God) is true. It teaches that 'Alî is an incarnation of God. Those who do not recognize him as such have no sense, and will never attain the distinction of the *dîdâr*.
76. Those souls who are known as the Jinn, ghosts, devils and witches (*bhut, dena, dakkan*), or any other evil souls, will pass through the Solan (wheel of re-birth) in this material world because they disobeyed and disregarded the commandments of their *Gurus*.
77. Those who recognized *Pîr Sat Gur* Nûr and Saddin (Ṣalâḥu'd-dîn), and those whose *Gurus* were *Pîr* Shamsu'd-dîn,
78. *Pîr* Sahebdin (Shihâbu'd-dîn?) and Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, are now with *Pîr* Imamshah (who is descended from the preceding).
79. The religion of the *Rasûl* and that of Bhirma (Brahma) was not accepted at the time of 'Alî by the people who did not believe in him. How can such fools accept this religion now?
80. From that day they have been separated, since those three *yârs*. Their faith and behaviour are not good. Do not mix with them.
81. Both *Pîr* Shamsh Bhirma (Shamsu'd-dîn the *Pîr*) and *Pîr* Shamash Saheb (Shamsu'd-dîn the Imam?) were descendants (or incarnations?) of Shâh-i Najaf ('Alî). *Pîr* Shamash removed the skin from his body, but even this miracle could not convince the people.

[1] Cf. above, p. 70.

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82. The city at which this miracle took place was Multan. He made clear (by it) to all that he (really) was the *Guru*, and yet even then the people did not believe.
83. Therefore he worked (preached) secretly. Then there came Bhirma (*Pîr*) Naṣîru'd-dîn. After him there came *Pîr* Sahebdin (Shihâbu'd-dîn). They all worked secretly.
84. Then came *Pir* Ṣadru'd-dîn who spread the religion. He began to guide the people openly on the right Path, and openly built a *jamât-khâna* at Kotla (Kotala).[1]
85. He converted many Hindus to Islam. He converted the Lohanas, and made them known as Khojas, because they firmly believed in him, trusting him, and had full confidence in their *Guru*.
86. Thus the Khojas have become the worshippers and followers of 'Alî and of his descendants. The religion then spread, and *Jamât-khânas* were built according to the advice of the *Pîr*.
87. The first *Jamât-khâna* belonged to the queen Surja. It was, of course, secret.
88. The true *Guru* recited *gnans* at Kotada which was situated near Lahore. At this place there lived a certain Trikam *Mukhî*. He openly professed the religion, and openly called himself a Khoja.
89. Thus the religion of the *Guru* spread rapidly. This was in the reign of Shri Islâm Shâh.[2] The place where we were staying was called Onch.
90. After him came *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, who became the *Guru*. He openly preached the religion from the province of Onch, and communicated with the Lord of the Time.
91. It was he who converted the Hindus to Islam in great numbers. Having converted them, the *Guru* guided them, reporting to the Lord of the Age.

[1] This Kotla or Kotala seems to be the same as Kotada mentioned further on, in *sloka* 88, and defined as situated near Lahore. There are many places bearing the name of Kotla.

[2] It is obviously again 'Abdu's-Salâm Shâh of Anjudân, if it really refers to *pîr* Ṣadrud'd-dîn's time. But, surely, the new religion was introduced long before that time.

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92. It was the time of *Shri* Islâm Shâh. Bhirma's incarnation was *Guru* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. He had eighteen children and seven wives.
93. He had one daughter whose name was Bai Budhai. Her religion was Ja'farî, of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq, the Imam.[1]
94. *Shâh* 'Alî was our grandfather, and Fâṭima was our grand-mother. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were their sons. From him the Imams descend.
95. The Prophet was our maternal grand-father. He was the son of 'Abdu'l-lâh. His mother was Bîbî Amîna, 'Abdu'l-lâh's wife.
96. Bîbî Khadîja al-Kubrâ was our maternal grand-mother. You will find all this if you look up your religious books. Those who are wise will understand all this, only fools and ignorant will miss the point.
97. The *Guru* (=Imamshah) belongs to their family, his father was Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. It was in Nûr-Shâh's time. So said *Pîr* Imamshah.
98. Then the *Guru* left that place, and went to the Seventh Heaven, where the deities of the ancient times, called Kalap (Kalpa) resided.
99. There he saw, amongst others, his own father and grandfather. He also saw Pelaj, Harishchandra and Yudhisthira. *Pîr* Ṣadru'd-dîn was with them. *Pîr* (Ḥasan) Kabîru'd-dîn sat praying with his rosary in his hand.
100. He, Imamshah, went towards him, and stood by, imploring his father: "I have come here with great expectations of seeing the heaven."
101. He said: "Thou art my father, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn." (The latter replied): "No one here has a material body. Why hast thou come here?"
102. The *Guru* (Imamshah) requested his father, saying:

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[1] It is not clear why this daughter of *pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn has been mentioned, and her religion specially indicated. Was she an Ithna-'ashari ?

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"I am sent here by Nûr-Shâh with the command that thou shouldst show me the Heaven."

103. *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn then brought the keys with which to show him Paradise, and said: "Take these keys, and look round the Heaven and its realm (*râj*)."

104. "We went with the keys, and arrived at the gate of Paradise[1] where spiritual beings, angels, who guarded it, asked us:

105. "What is thy name and caste? If thou handest thy keys to us, we shall show (Paradise) to thee."

106. (The *Guru* replied): "My name is *Pîr* Imamshah, and my father's name is *Pîr* Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. I have come here by order of Nûr-Shâh, and I shall hold the keys."

107. Then all the angels rose and greeted him, saying: "Welcome, *Guru-ji*, thou mayest see the Kingdom of Heaven."

108. Taking the keys, they opened the locks of the four gates. The locks were made of gold, and also the gates. Such was the entrance to Heaven.

109. The chains were of gold, and the hinges were of gold. The place was ornamented with shining pearls and jewels, sparkling as the sun. *Pîr* Imamshah collected many of these.

110. The gates were of gold. The fruit (on trees) were of silver and emeralds. The walls were inlaid with pearls shining as the sun.

111. The sun (itself) shines on all sides of the Heaven, and so also the moon.

112. There was an immense diamond which spread light in all directions. *Pîr* Imamshah entered the Palace (*mole*). All in it was made of golden bricks. The earth (*floor?*) was covered with the plaster of musk.

[1] It is strange that the *pîr* himself does not stay in Paradise, and that there are other people with him. But it seems that it is also so in all-Islamic ideas: the Prophet, the Imams, etc., do not go to Paradise which is apparently reserved only for deserving ordinary people.

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113. None can attain all this without paying the tithes. Everywhere innumerable pearls and diamonds were inlaid. Rooms were built of golden bricks.

114. The girders of the roof were of gold, and the roof was of silver, studded with diamonds. All this looked glorious indeed.

115. Golden tiles shone brilliantly. There were terraces and verandahs in the house, everything glittering dazzlingly.

116. From the terrace I entered the temple (or palace) in which every hall was beautiful beyond words.

117. In every hall there stood shining beds of silver, and near them stood the hurries, numbering altogether about fifty.

118. There I entered and sat on a bed, because I was from the family of 'Alî and the Prophet. The hurries trembled and began to ask what should happen to them (their *aḥwâl*).

119. They held betel leaves in their hands, offering these as a present to their lord. They asked when will he come (to enjoy their company) so that they could offer him these leaves.

120. *Pir* Imamshah smilingly said to the fifty gorgeous maidens that their lord (husband) was coming to satisfy their desires.

121. "Those who act righteously in this world will be your husbands." He added: "For them you should make your best show. Therefore go and adorn yourselves superbly."

122. *Pir* Imamshah says to the faithful that the legs of the beds were golden, and the beds themselves were made of silver.

123. They were covered with silver and silk brocade of unsurpassable beauty. The bedding was of Divine Light. Each bed had four bedsheets.

124. In every leg of the bed were inlaid four diamonds spreading their brilliance in all directions. A special

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angel, whose duty it was to keep it clean, was in charge of every bed.

125. Lamps with burning musk, flickering under the gentle breeze, were burning there all night. There will be many who will enjoy all this!

126. There were four cross-roads, with sixteen gates on each, all of equal size, and there were many palaces like this one, each perfect by itself.

127. There were seventeen hurries like the sun and seventeen like the moon. There were four times four daughters of goddesses amongst these. One of them was their leader.

128. Then *Pîr* Imamshah saw five hundred Divine luminous (*nûrânî*) princes who resided there. Those who will get fifty hurries, will have Divine princes born by them (the maidens).

129. From thence the *Guru-ji* walked forth and came to twelve compounds where he saw a tree (standing) with four more trees growing around it.

130. The *Guru* continues, saying that he went still further, and saw four tanks (*ḥawḍ*). One was filled with honey, another with milk,

131. the third with Divine water, and the fourth *sirabh tahura* (Cor. "*shirâban ṭahûran*"). These four tanks, filled up, would be given to the slave of God who could drink from them to his satisfaction.

132. Then the *Guru-ji* went, arriving near the tree in which many birds of various colours were nesting.

133. Its name was the Tree of Good Fruits. It grew near those tanks. Close by there stood five luminous (*nûrânî*) thrones which would be given to every faithful.

134. "Thence," — The *Guru-ji* continues, — "I went and came to a garden." Listen to the praise of the garden, O, *Mu'mins!* The beauty of the garden was beyond description.

135. There is nothing like it anywhere. There grew 525 trees, all of them the Trees of the Good Fruit. The

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fruits were of different varieties, and were innumerable.''

136. And from thence the *Guru-ji* went, arriving at the Castle (*kot*). It consisted of eight towers, each under a special guard.

137. Each tower had 64 turrets. Every faithful will reign over these. Each tower occupies 500 *gaw*.[1] Every devotee will get one like this.

138. Those who are faithful, seventy one generations of his father's and his mother's sides, and seven generations on his father-in-law's side will receive this happiness.

139. The total number of the towers is 70,700. Every faithful will get one under his rule. All this will be given to every pious male.

140. Having inspected all these towers, *Guru-ji* became very happy. All honour be due to the faithful who follows the advice of his *Guru*.[2]

141. ''Having seen the Seventh Heaven,'' — *Pir* Imamshah continues, — ''I descended to the sixth Heaven. My father and grandfather were glad at my having received the distinction of being permitted to visit the Heaven.

142. Then I descended to the fifth Heaven, ruled over by king Indar Raja, who there exercises his authority.

143. From there I came down to the fourth Heaven where Dhruva happily rules.

144. Thence I descended to the third Heaven where 900,000 kinners are ruling, forming the star brotherhood.

145. Thence I came down to the second Heaven which is ruled by the moons which form the lunar phases.

146. Thence I came down to the first Heaven which is ruled by the Sun. Know that this is Suraj-mandal.

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[1] A measure of distance, of about two miles.

[2] It seems that this is apparently the only instance in world literature in which Paradise is imagined in the form of a huge city, so powerfully fortified, — against whom ? The expressions such as ''reigning'', ''rule'', etc., are obviously hyperbolic extensions of the ordinary ideas of ''living'', ''residing'', etc.

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147. Thence I proceeded to the Meru Mountain where I saw many wonders which I cannot describe.
148. Thence I returned to my own town (*âp nagar*), and took a seat near my mother, Bîbî Satî Nurka.
149. There I stayed for five days, afterwards proceeding on a journey, accompanied by Hazar Beg who was (then) sixty years old."
150. Thus *Pîr* Imamshah narrates the story of his visit to Paradise. Those who live righteously will be able to remain there.
151. Whoever is well versed in the knowledge of religion, *gnans*, and faithfully observes the injunctions of the True Path (Sat Panth), obeying the commandments of the *gnans*, he will certainly reach Paradise.
152. Therefore follow the guidance of the *gnans*, understand them thoroughly. Those who do this properly will never be reborn in Sansar. [1]
153. Attend the *ghaṭ*, o, faithful! Meditate over the *Pîr* and *Shâh*, and follow the guidance of the Veds."
154. So says *Pîr* Imamshah. Listen to this, O, *mu'min!* O, brother, the righteous souls will attain salvation and the *dîdâr!*

[1] *Sansar* = *dunyâ*, visible world.

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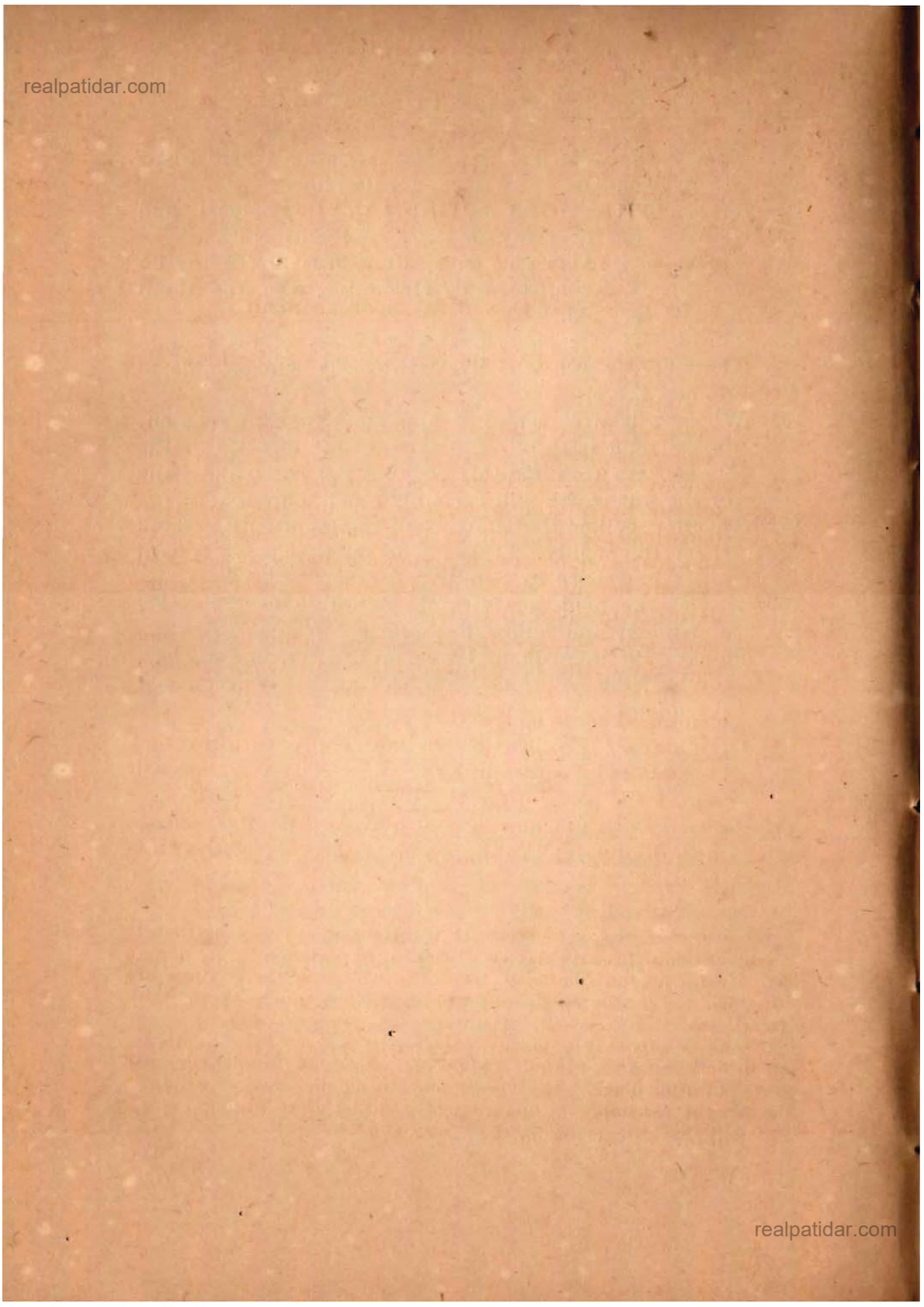

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Shikshapatri

III.

THE HOLY SHIKSHAPATRI.

Translated from Maratthi

by Peer Syed Dewan M. Noor-Ali Shah.

These are the words of the *Sat Gor* who is Brahma, the Creator :

1. O, *munivars !* [1] Ye who live as hermits, listen to the true counsel of the *Sat Gor !*
2. Follow your usual preoccupations (just as a faithful wife follows hers) the whole day (being busy with her household work). But (just as she at nightfall leaves all this, and enters into communion with her lord, *swami*, her husband), so you must at certain times devote yourselves to Him.
3. Abstain from speaking ill of anyone. Come to the *ghaṭ* to perform the true worshipful meditation, *sandhya.*
4. The *sandhya* of the *munivar* is never to disobey the commandments of the *Gor.*
5. O, *munivar !* Brother ! Dost thou really perform such a *sandhya* by controlling thy anger ? By this thou wilt secure the blessing for thy life.
6. As soon as thou acquirest control over thy mind, selfishness disappears. Awake, come to the *ghaṭ* of the Holy Ganges ! [2]

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[1] *Munivar* really means ascetic Here it appears as merely a conventional literary device, "wishful hyperbolism", as it may be called. As may be seen from the contents, these rules are intended for ordinary people who have not much to do with asceticism.

[2] As is already explained above, it is necessary to distinguish between *ghaṭ=jamât (jamâ'at)*, assembly for prayer, and *ghat*, bathing place. The vessel containing the blessed water at the prayer assembly is eulogistically called *ghaṭ-Gangâ*, i.e. religiously as efficacious as the Ganges.

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7. When you have come to the *ghaṭ*, the image of the Holy Ganges, do not condemn anyone, control your minds and bodies by practicing abstinence, never taking too much food.
8. Overeating makes one lazy and somnolent, and this will later on make you repent your behaviour.
9. By abstinence and moderation you will keep yourselves awake. Only wakefulness brings victory in the spiritual struggle led by the *Sat Gor*.
10. Make the best use of your time the whole long day, but realise that even a year long *vachan* is in reality easier than even a casual talk with a friend.[1]
11. Be humble and modest with those who are older than thyself, and also with those who are younger. Be tolerant towards defects noticed in those who are older than thyself.
12. Brother, even those who are younger than thyself should be treated by thee as those who are thy elders.
13. Brother, remember that those who speak kindly (politely) are like those whose mouths are filled with glittering diamonds.
14. The secret of coming into (spiritual) communion with the *Sat Gor* is the treating of everyone around thyself with equal kindness (courtesy).
15. If thou seest that one succeeds in life by doing evil, thou mayest be sure that he will end in disaster.
16. Avoid indolence and sleepiness. Follow the teaching of the Veds and never tell lies.
17. Abstain from doing evil in all its forms, from fraud and swindling. Devote daily some time to worship at the holy *ghaṭ*.
18. Bring (to it) a donation as a proof of thy devotion, whatever thou wishest. But it should not be something entirely worthless.

[1] *Vachan* literally means word, promise, utterance. Here it surely means *the* word, or words, i.e. prayer. The sentence is apparently an assurance that prayer, though it appears at first difficult, presents in reality no difficulty once it is started, and offered regularly.

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19. Never argue with the *mukhi*. Come before him humbly, as a mendicant, and thou wilt never be rejected.
20. (Avoid) such preachers of religion as are themselves irreligious and ignorant, speaking of things which they do not know.
21. If thou remainest in the state of *sutak* (without purifying thyself), thou wilt harm thyself, ending in great misery.[1]
22. Only irreligious men become irritated. The *munivar* never quarrels with anyone.
23. Having pondered (on these matters), take into thy hand this rosary (of the hundred *kriyas*), and follow their rules of good behaviour persistently and unostentatiously.
24. O, *munivar*, and people who wish to acquire good qualities! Follow the hundred *kriyas*, the commandments, as they are formulated here!

HUNDRED *KRIYAS*.

1. Purify thy heart, and keep it free from defilement. — 2. Take thy food not before thou hast bathed thy body, every day. — 3. Observe the commandments of Truthfulness day and night. — 4. Always speak only the truth. — 5. Treat everybody with sympathetic understanding. — 6. (Remember that) the Creator rewards the deserving. — 7. Understand sympathetically the sufferings of those around thee. — 8. Respect the word of those who are older than thyself, as well as those who are younger. — 9. Do not be proud when occupying a superior position. — 10. Keep thy temper under control. This is the tenth commandment — 11. Never neglect the prescriptions of religion. — 12.

[1] *Sutak* in Hinduism is the term implying the state of ritual uncleanliness caused by occurences in the family life of the individual, such as birth of a child, or the death of a relative, and so forth. Such a state lasts seven days after which defilement is removed by the *mukhi*, who, after the recitation of appropriate *mantras*, sprinkles the defiled with some drops of the sacred water.

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Devote thyself to meditation in the company of good friends. — 13. Join the prayers with the *ghat* every day. — 14. Sincerely respect the *Gor* and the *mukhi*. — 15. Worship the name of God every day to be (really) pious. — 16. Never show signs of pride, (always remember that) modesty is the highest virtue. — 17. Never be greedy, even in the slightest degree. — 18. Keep thy heart pure (and free from the temptation of accepting bribes). — 19. Never utter lies. — 20. Receive the guest kindly; be kind to beggars. — 21. Feed the hungry. — 22. Quench the thirst of the thirsty. — 23. Cover the nackedness of the nacked. — 24. Take care of thy relatives and family. — 25. Never cheat anyone, always pay in full. — 26. Never demand anything in excess of what is due. — 27. Never have sexual intercourse with other people's wives. — 28. Never cast the evil eye upon others. — 29. Never give false evidence, nor say what thou dost not know for certain. — 30. Never deceive or swindle anyone. — 31. Never utter a threat to strike anyone. — 32. Never take interest (on a loan). — 33. Never commit the sin of selling bones. — 34. Never sell birds or animals.[1] — 35. Never castrate an animal. Who does this is a great sinner. — 36. Never build for thyself a luxurious house. — 37. Never demand money as bride-price. — 38. Give alms to the deserving. — 39. Never forge a (money) document. — 40. After relieving thyself use five *achman* (sips of water). *This fortieth* kriya *is of great importance*. — 41. Use earth (or sand) while cleaning thy hands; bathe, keep thy body clean. — 42. Wash after having passed water. — 43. Take three *achman* to be pious. — 44. Never chew tobacco, or any similar preparation.[2] — 45. Never take intoxicants. — 46. Do not put on clothes died with indigo. — 47. Avoid the company of bad people. — 48. Keep fasts, this is an (important) religious duty. —

[1] It is implied : the animals which one keeps in his household.

[2] Tobacco, as is well known, forms a part of the *pan* (bettel nut) preparations the use of which is ubiquitous in India.

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49. Do not worship water or a stone.[1] — 50. Do not keep as a deposit the money of a doubtful origin. — 51. Be mentally alert, do not miss good opportunities. — 52. Repeat prayers (=names of the Deity) for attaining the eternal abode (or bliss). — 53. Never take of food which was not offered to thee, this is a grave sin. — 54. Never wind thy turban pretentiously. — 55. Do not eat too much. — 56. Suppress lust; do not fall in love. — 57. Treat the wife of the elder brother as thy mother. — 58. (If thou wishest to live as) ascetics, give up all property. — 59. Do not annoy thy neighbours. — 60. Never commit a breach of trust. — 61. Never pick-up anything lost by others. — 62. Do not intentionally cause pain to anyone. — 63. Never borrow money, nor buy anything on credit. — 64. Never run away with anyone's money. — 65. Always pay what is due without demur or anger, as a son pays to his own father. — 66. Use thy brains, seek for knowledge; do not look down upon anyone. — 67. Never use abusive language. — 68. Be (always) ready to render account in everything to the Deity. — 69. Never argue in order simply to prove that thou art always right. — 70. Never gamble. — 71. Never listen to music or singing, never attend theatrical performances. They lead to depravity and loss of spiritual control. — 72. Express praise, but never utter condemnation of food made of corn. — 73. Never make an idol, nor keep it in thy house. — 74. Do not permit thy soul to be obsessed by worries. — 75. Avoid the sick.[2] — 76. Never eat while walking. — 77. Do not believe in *Khat Darshan*. If thou dost, thou shalt repent this.[3] — 78. In the actions follow the commandments of the Veds.[4] — 79. Live reason-

[1] This is obviously directed against the worship of rivers or sea, and of certain sacred hills or rocks.

[2] This is interpreted as a commandement to avoid the society of those who suffer from contagious disease.

[3] Cf. the comments on the belief in the six *Darshan* on p. 105.

[4] As is known, the Satpanthîs reject the Veds except for the last and final which is, according to their doctrine, the Coran Cf. above, p. 24.

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ably and observe cleanliness. — 80. Do not kill thyself by poison or drowning : in such a case thou wilt be re-born, and wilt come back to this world. — 81. Control thy passions in youth. — 82. Never entrust secrets to any woman. — 83. Never sprinkle impure water upon fire. — 84. Never break a live tree. — 85. Never torture dumb creatures. — 86. Never leave in the vessel what remains of the food thou eatest.[1] — 87. Never give intentionally to animals what remains after thy meal. — 88. Never criticise or disclose to others anyone's shortcomings. — 89. Never drink unclean or muddy water. — 90. Never intentionally kill any living being. — 91. Make ablutions at dawn or in the morning, before going to work. — 92. Never remain ritually unclean. — 93. Bathe at the *ghats*. — 94. Devote thyself to meditation only after having cleaned thyself. — 95. Never eat garlick or onions. — 96. Never eat crumbs or anything that remains after someone's meal. — 97. Patiently bear misfortunes that befall thee, and never permit sorrow to interfere with religious duties. — 98. Do good even to those who are against thee and cause thee harm. — 99. Be sincere in giving the advice when anyone asks thee. — 100. Keep (this) rosary in thy hands, and always think of the Deity.

O, *munivar*, dost thou practice the hundred *kriyas* mentioned here ? Practice them if thou desirest to approach Brahma, and drink the nectar of the eternal bliss.

1. O, *munivar*, love new converts, help them to follow their new religion.
2. Put upon thyself the sacred thread of the hundred *kriyas*.
3. Only those who have communion with Shri Brahm are the brahmans. They will not undergo the sufferings of further re-birth. O, *munivar*, dost thou hear this *Brahm-gnan* ? [2]

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[1] As in India they mostly use brass vessels which are never tinned, this commandment may be based not on relics of magic ideas but on sad experience with poisoning by coper oxide.

[2] Brahm is *Gor*, or *pir*, in this case Imamshah. *Brahm-gnan* here means "the wisdom of the *Pir*", i.e. the "Hundred *Kriyas*."

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4. Go to worship at the *ghaṭ!* Go and bathe thyself!
5. Knowledge of Brahm pleases the *Gor*. All the 68 sacred places of pilgrimage lie at the feet of the *Gor*.
6. The True Divine *Gor*, in the form of the human *gor*, the teacher, sits at the *ghaṭ*, teaching thee. Blessed are those who through his human form can perceive the True Divine *Gor!*
7. Strive to understand this from learning and meditation, and thou wilt find what thou seekest.
8. The true *munivar* is only he who has found that spiritual knowledge.
9. The true *munivar* is only he who has acquired complete control over his mind.
10. *Gor* Imâm-Shâh says : "O, *ghaṭ!*" Dost thou hear what has been said here? Dost thou desire to put upon thyself the sacred thread of the hundred *Kriyas?* This is the end of the holy *Shikshapatri*. *

* As the reader may see, the main portion of the *Shikshapatri* is practically the same as that of the *Sau-Kiriya*, translated above. Note that while the later is supposed to be the work of Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn, the former appears to be the work of Imâm-shâh. The difference is only found in the introductory and conclusive portions, which surely do not belong to the original *gnan*. The text of the *Shikshapatri* is in Maratthi, and is used by the Eastern Satpanth branch. The followers of that branch are found in East Khandesh, i.e. the district of Burhanpur, but there are also many scattered in other districts of East Khandesh, as also in those of West Khandesh, Nimar and Berar (Akola, Amraoti, Malkapur and Buldhana). The author of this translation who is at present the *pir* of the sect, residing in Bahadurpur, a short distance from Burhanpur, is a well-educated young man who takes a keen interest in the study of the history of the community of which he is now the head. Concerning his predecessors, and generally the history of the pîrs of Khandesh, see W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat" (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S., 1936, pp. 69-70). The family of the *pîrs* regard themselves as strictly orthodox Sunnis, and treat their ancestors as Sufic *pirs*.

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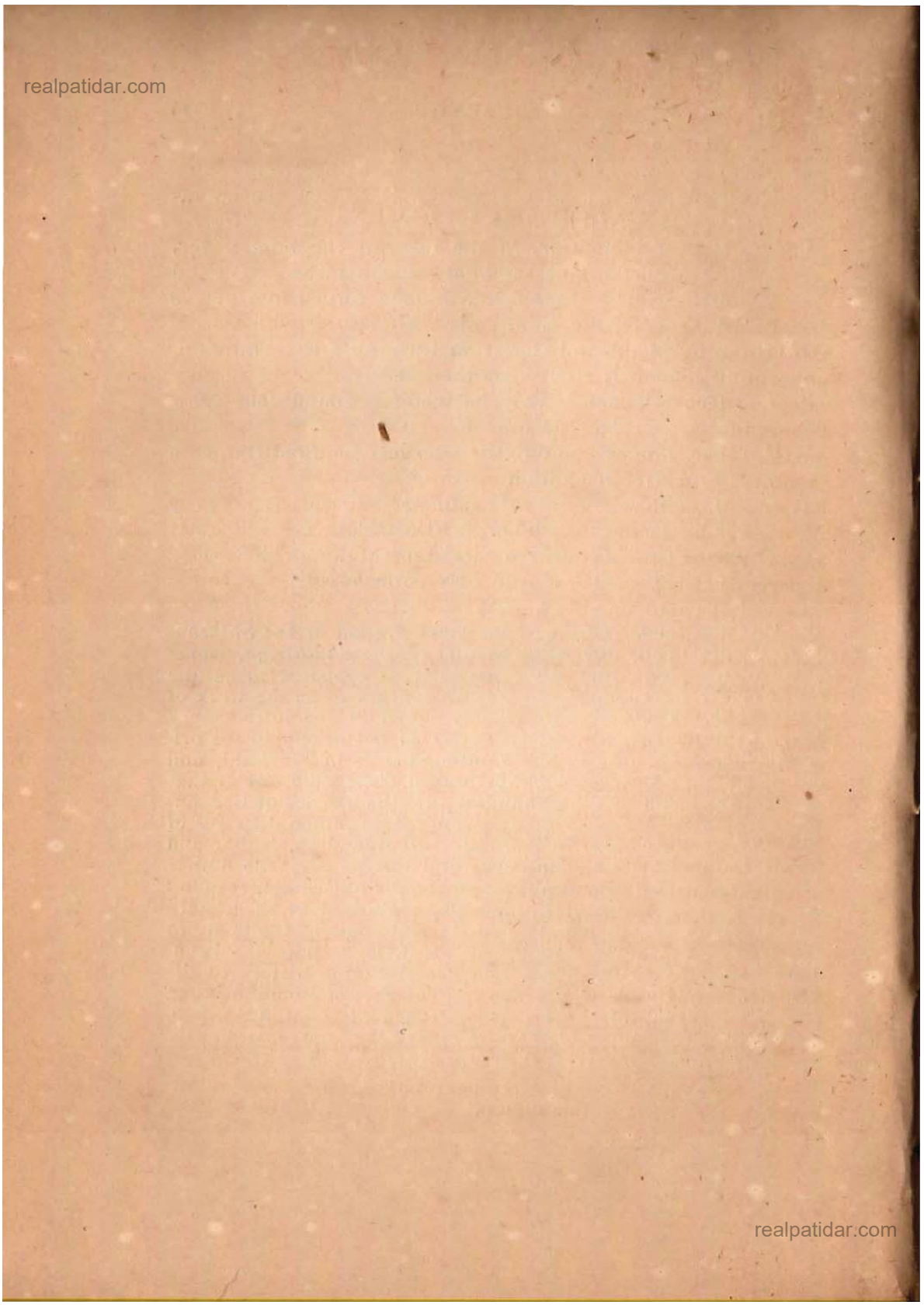

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IV.

AN ALI-ILAHI FRAGMENT

By W. Ivanow.

In my notes on Satpanth and its literature published at the beginning of this volume, I have stressed some remarkable instances of parallelism that exists between various religious ideas, forms, and even the general spirit of the beliefs of Satpanth on the one hand, and of the Ali-ilahis on the other. As is known, the followers of the latter sect inhabit Persian Kurdistan, Luristan, are found in Adharbayjân, Mazandaran, and in isolated communities all over N.W. Persia, incidentally also in Kirman, Shiraz, and even as far west as the eastern part of Asia Minor. Thus they apparently have no direct contact whatever with the population of the remote Sind and Western India where the Satpanthis reside. However, the parallelism mentioned here appears too substantial to be treated as entirely fortuitous. In any case it well merits careful investigation. It would be a great achievement indeed if by any means we could discover a method of tracing those invisible ties and channels of mutual influences, which never stop in their slow and yet far-reaching work amongst the masses, work which goes on without leaving any written record. Such "subcultural" evolution may often be as important as those cultural relations at the high level of learning and art which usually occupy all the attention of the official historian.

It is therefore unfortunate that we know so little concerning such popular religions. Satpanth until a few years ago was, not, so-to-speak, on the student's map [1]. Our knowledge of the Ali-Ilahis is very meagre. In fact, leaving out travellers' references to them, and works of a general nature, we so far possess only one substantial text. This,

[1] I have given relevant bibliographical references in my paper, "The Sect of Imam-Shah in Gujrat", JBBRAS, 1936, pp. 19-70.

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however, was only translated into Russian,[1] and so far even remains unedited. For this reason every fragment of the genuine Ali-ilahi works is invaluable for the extension of our information about the sect and its literature.

In circumstances such as these I believe I am right in venturing to offer, in the original Persian and a translation, a fragment of what apparently was a booklet dealing with the Ali-ilahi ideas of cosmogony and cognate matters. In fact this should have been published thirty years ago. The paper was prepared, in Russian, by me in 1917, was recommended for publication in the "Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences" (St. Petersburg) by the late Prof. S. Oldenburg (in the session of the Section of History and Philology, 17-i-1918), and was set in type just before I left Petrograd (as it was then called). Later on, owing to my absence, it was cancelled, and never appeared in print.

Here I offer the text and translation into English, together with a short introductory note which is necessary because the subject is hardly familiar to many in India.

The origin of the fragment is as follows. While staying in Shiraz in the autumn of 1914, I purchased from a certain Sayyid Nûr, an old man who posed as a darwish, a bundle of Ali-ilahi booklets and disjointed leaflets. Almost all were written in various dialects of Kurdish and Gurani which neither Sayyid Nûr, nor any of my Kurûnî[2] friends were

[1] The latest and fullest bibliography is given by V. Minorsky in his note on "Ahl-i Ḥakk" in E.I., Supplement, pp. 9-13. His translation of his text was published (in Russian) in 1911, in Moscow, under the title "Materials for the Study of the Persian Sect, People of the Truth, or Ali-ilahis". References further on are given to this original edition.

[2] *Kurûnî* is the name under which descendants of the Gurans who formed the suite and armed forces of Karîm Khân Zand (1163-1193/1750-1779) are known in Shiraz. Already some thirty years ago there were practically no Ali-ilahis amongst them in the city, and the only "nest" was still in existence in the village of Talakhideshk, within a mile of the town. It may be noted that in Persian pronunciation the syllables *-ân* and *-âm*, especially at the end of the word, are pronounced as *-un* and *-um*, particularly by the uneducated.

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able to read. There was only one small fragment in Persian, which is here edited, consisting of five leafs in one sixteenth of the foolscap sheet of Russian (no. 5) paper, probably written some fifty years ago in rather uncouth Persian handwriting. I offered an attractive reward to anyone who would bring me the rest of the booklet, and I am sure that careful search was made, but, unfortunately, with no result.

Just as in the case of other known Ali-ilahi literary productions of this kind, the fragment bears the stamp of being written by a man of very limited education, who mixes his usual colloquial Persian with high flown expressions remembered by him from learned books. It has the appearance of a note written for memory only by someone who never intended it to be published. The beginning is devoted to the question of mortals being unable to comprehend the nature of the Divine Substance, this being proved with the help of Kabbalistic discussions (ff. 1-2v). Although the text is apparently continuous, the subject later on is completely changed, and refers to the creation of the world and the foundation (*ithbât*) of various ceremonies in the religion of the Ali-ilahis.

The stylistic helplessness of the little educated author, his errors in spellling, and the general tone of the work are valuable indications of the fact that we have to deal here with current beliefs, probably a summary of a talk with some well-informed person, and not the individual fantasy of someone. It is a great pity indeed that we are unable to find its continuation.

1. *The Ali-Ilahis or* Ahl-i Ḥaqq.

The religion of the Ali-ilahis, as they are called by their neighbours, or Ahl-i Ḥaqq as they prefer to call themselves,[1] is a variety of Shi'ite extremism obviously forming

[1] The crude translation of this term, "the people of the Truth", does not render the real sense of the expression, and may even be misleading if left without explanations. Here *ḥaqq* is not the abstract truth, nor truthfulness, but the true

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a super-structure over an earlier primitive religion. What this was, we cannot yet determine. In any case it was neither Zoroastrianism, nor ancient Babylonian religion, nor yet Christianity. The Ali-ilahis themselves always like to advance the theory that their beliefs are the same as those of the Nusayris of Syria [1]. This is extremely doubtful, however, and the case most probably is that the Ali-ilahis who claim such connection themselves have no idea of the Nusayri religious theories. What forms the common element in Ali-ilahism and Nusayrism, and, in addition, Druzism and Satpanth, is merely the Shi'ite extremist viewpoint, and this is obviously not enough for these religions to be regarded as coming from one common stock.

There is, in fact, a substantial difference between Ali-ilahism on the one hand, and Druzism and Nusayrism on the other. While the last two Shi'ite sects are strictly confined to one nation, speaking one and the same language, and ethnically homogeneous, the case of Ali-ilahism is different. It forms the religion of various tribes and ethnical groups, speaking different languages, and scattered

religion, or attributeless Deity. Thus the proper rendering would be either "the followers of the (only) True Religion", or "the worshippers of the (only) True God". As is known many sects, including the Ismailis, apply this term to themselves.

[1] Nuṣayr, whose "name in the *ṭariqat*," according to the darwish theories, was Shâh Maḥmûd-i Pâtilî, appears to be wholely a legendary person, who has nothing to do with the eponym of the Nusayri sect, Nuṣayr, or Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr an-Namîrî (or Numayrî) al-'Abdî who apparently flourished about the middle of the third/ninth c. The reason why some Persian speaking sectaries, especially those who usually live amongst the Persians, make themselves Nusayris, is simply because they are rather ashamed of the general style of their mythology which is so firmly connected with the tribal life of the "wild Kurds". The term "Nusayri", which for them implies little or no definite religious contents, attracts them as more "respectable", Arabic. The story of Nuṣayr as narrated by the darwishes and Ali-ilahis is a variant, or rather numerous variants, of the Christian legend of the "slaughter of innocents". Minorsky's text (p. 56 of the translation) contains an allusion to this.

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amongst the population belonging to different religions. Turkish, Kurdish, Gurani, Luri and Persian, are used by them in various parts of the country, but, although the sect is divided into many sub-sects or branches, the sense of unity is nevertheless in existence. Thus Ali-ilahism, and Satpanth, are not "tribal" religions, but are independent from ethnical and class affiliation. In Satpanth it is easy to assess its Hinduistic and Tantric base because these two systems are still going strong and are well-known. In the case of Ali-ilahism such original base does not exist independently, and is entirely forgotten. We can only hope to find some information about it when Ali-ilahism is properly studied and all its non-Islamic elements reliably traced and identified.

The greatest difficulty that faces the student of Ali-ilahism is the absence of original works of the sect. I was often told that the heads of the sect, whose headquarters are in the hills near Kerind, a town on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road, possess a library of Saranjâm literature, the books of which are stored in rows (*qaṭâr ba-qaṭâr*).[1] It seems, however, that this is pure imagination, and apparently the Ali-ilahis have no recognized and standard religious works from which one can obtain a complete idea of their religion. For the most part, it seems, just as in the case of Satpanth, religious knowledge is embodied in religious poems by different authors, and especially *kalâms*,[2] i.e. utterings of various saints or manifes-

[1] The term *Saranjâm*, "completion, fulfilment", is generally applied to the doctrine and religious literature of the sectarians. It is therefore wrong to call any book "Saranjâm". *Kitâb-i Saranjâm* does not mean *THE*, but *A* Saranjâm book. It is quite probable that the Sayyids may really have a library of theological and other books, but all my inquiries could never bring me information about any well-known and generally recognized book which would occupy in the mentality of the sect the position of the Bible or Coran in the corresponding religions.

[2] The term *kalâm*, speech, utterance, has a general sense of religious literature of the sectarians, and apparently contains an implied allusion to the fact that it always was, and probably remains, for the most part preserved only orally. Of

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tations of the Divine Substance. These are just as polyglottic as the Satpanth *gnans*. Those books which like the text translated by V. Minorsky, deal, in prose, with various religious subjects, are mostly the productions of people of scanty education who try to commit to writing, for memory only, what they have heard from their priests, who are supposed to be the real guardians of the oral tradition. These gentlemen are extremely jealous of their privileges and part with their knowledge only very unwillingly, perhaps not without accepting some tangible proofs of gratitude from those who are very keen to learn more about it. Therefore we have nothing but hasty records of various stories, mostly extolling the miraculous deeds of various incarnations of the Deity or different saints. The miracles, and stories about them, are predominantly of two types. One is intended to glorify the saints and their acts for didactic purposes, and the other explains the origin of this or that practice or custom in Ali-ilahi worship, the aetiological myths, *itkbât*. The uneducated authors of such notes, being absorbed with the story itself, very often concentrate on the dramatic contents of the tradition, not bringing out clearly the religious implications of the story and its purpose or simply disregarding them. Thus they turn tradition into an accumulation of religious fairy tales from which it is difficult to get any clear or useful idea of the system.

The basic theory of Ali-ilahism is that of the Shi'ite extremism in general, namely of the manifestation of the

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course, individual adepts who can read and write may occasionally write such matters in order to insure correct preservation. The only difficulty is that while dialects of Kurdish, which still largely continues as an unwritten language, possess no fixed and generally recognized system of spelling, writing is useless. What is written in such an obsolete and crude script as Arabic, simply cannot be read by anyone except someone familiar with the manner of the person who wrote it. It thus leads to a situation similar to that in the well-known anecdote of Mulla Naṣru'd-dîn : to read a letter written in this way the writer should go along with it to the addressee.

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Divine Substance in human form in this world. "Manifestations of the Divine Substance", as well-informed Ali-ilahis say, "were numberless." The one that occurred at the beginning of the Islamic era was in the form of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib. Thus, although the terms *Imâm* or *Imâmat* [1] are not mentioned, it appears that the idea is the same as in Ismailism, in its Fatimid interpretation, according to which the world cannot exist without the Imam.

It is also a parallel with other Shi'ite sects that manifestations of the Divine Substance are always accompanied by the manifestations of several, in this case of four, associates, *yârân-i čahâr malak*, as they are called, and in addition a female associate (which is not found in Ismailism). [2] This to some extent resembles a reduced programme of the Ismaili conception of religious history of the world which is divided into seven periods of millennial duration (*dawr*) at the beginning of which an Apostle of God, *Nâṭiq*,

[1] As far I could see in my contacts with the sectarians, these terms, in their eyes, have become so exclusively associated with Ithna-'ashari Imams that it would sound extraordinary to call 'Alî — *Imâm* 'Alî, or add this title to the names of Shâh Khushîn or any other incarnation. It is remarkable that in contrast with the Ithna-'asharis they almost never refer to the sons of 'Alî, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. I believe that one of the contributing reasons in the explanation may be the well-known "Marcionism" of Shi'ite extremists. They are reluctant to dwell on such "family" details of the Incarnation for a reason which is expressly emphasised by the Druzes : He, God, is not born by anyone, and does not give birth to anyone. This is why the miraculous and fatherless birth of an Incarnation is the theme of many of their stories, and also why there is no mention of any Incarnation marrying and having children.

[2] It should be wrong to translate the expression *yâr* in this sense as "friend". In Western Persia, as also in some other parts of the country, *yâr, yârû* has the colloquial meaning of "fellow" in English : *în yârû ki'st ?* "who is that fellow ?" It corresponds with the archaic and Eastern expression *kas*, for some reason dropped by Persian except in some "fossilized" combinations. Therefore *yârân* does not necessarily convey the idea of intimate friendship, in active form, but simply of people, men, individuals.

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is sent to humanity, accompanied by his *Asâs*, or *Waṣî*, and the latter followed by seven Imams, each accompanied by twelve *ḥujjats*. In tribal life, with its narrow limits of vision, such a grand programme would surely have been excessive, and, perhaps, this is why the number of the associates has been reduced.

The fact that it is the Imam who is here number one, and not the Prophet, is easily explained by the evolution common to all sects with extremist tendencies. Such beliefs are already attested by the earliest known heresiological works and, despite the strong opposition that they met in the Islamic society as a whole, they always indicated the tendency to further intensification. Not only Persian darwishes, but even orthodox Ithna-'asharism has not escaped this.

From whence comes that strange term applied to the associates of the incarnation, *malak*, "angel"? At first it appears to be the influence of Christianity.[1] We may remember, however, that there were "angels" in the Khaṭṭâbite doctrine as early as the first half of the second/eighth c., although their functions were different. In the ideas of the various incarnations we find that the earliest set was headed by Ṣâḥabkâr, i.e. God, accompanied by the Biblical and Coranic angels : Jabrâ'il, Mîkâ'il, and others. It is difficult to find out whether this is merely a late addition, to add symmetry to the general scheme, and make subsequent incarnations manifestations of those original substances.

At the time of the manifestation of 'Alî, as an incarnation of the Divine Substance, we find the names of the "four angels" which show apparently a very late origin. The first is Salmân (Fârsî), that Persian national Shi'ite

[1] These four "angels", accompanying the Incarnated Lord, indeed, vividly recall the well-known story of the Bible in which God, accompanied by *four angels*, visits Abraham under that oak in Mambre. There is no doubt that Ali-ilahism is full of Christian motifs in its tradition, and this, of course, is only natural in view of long historical association.

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saint. Next to him comes Qanbar, a legendary Negro slave of 'Alî who is hardly ever mentioned in early Shi'ite tradition, but becomes a prominent person under the Safawids and later. Only the third place is given to Muḥammad the Prophet. The fourth is reserved to Nuṣayr,[1] probably on account of the tendency to make Ali-ilahism the same as Nusayrism. Apparently an original Ali-ilahi feature is the addition of a female incarnation, here Fâṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. This development may be due to Christian influences and to the difference of the position of woman in tribal life compared with that in the towns, or, perhaps, even almost completely obliterated trace of some ancient cult of the Mother Goddess which flourished in Mesopotamia.

From all the stories which are accessible to us now it is not easy to see the real purpose of the incarnations of the Deity in human form. In the fragment edited here the Deity, before disappearing, appoints the four Angels and their associates "to carry on the preaching and guidance of men towards God" (*da'wat wa hidâyat kunand ba-sûy-i Jawhar*). Nothing is said of the Incarnation giving any law or introducing reforms. Vague references are incidentally made to a certain "unutterable mystery" which the Deity will reveal.

The names of the incarnations and their principal associates may be reminiscences of certain Ali-ilahi tribal heroes or saints. But it is quite possible that at least some, in the case of the incarnations of the Deity, as "*Jawhar*" here, are conventionalized surnames invented to camouflage their memory from the uninitiated. Apparently there is no chronology, and no "history"[2]. Tribal exis-

[1] He is already discussed above, p. 150.

[2] V. Minorsky, to whom we all are indebted for much that we know of the sect, insists on treating his text as a "history" of the Ali-ilahi religion. The Bible is also a chain of instructive stories, but surely the difference between it and such accumulations of legends is immense. In Ali-ilahi stories there is no clear idea of the sequence of events, no intention of telling

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tence is so monotonous in the struggle against want, nature, and interminable feuds, and the style of life is so stagnant that a century or two hardly makes any difference to the story.

The intensely tribal atmosphere of those fragments which are so far known make the problem of the origin of Ali-ilahism extremely difficult to solve. When and how had it become a religion independent of a community ? What was the organisation which had brought about such unity of belief ? Or, if in reality it was born as a tribal religion, what were the historical conditions which led to adoption by other peoples, speaking different languages ? These and many other questions cannot be answered at present. We do not even know what exactly is the hierarchy and religious organisation of Ali-ilahism, because the ordinary adepts, for the most part illiterate people, know too little and have no intellectual keenness to ask themselves such questions. Their Sayyids, priests, are too concerned with guarding their traditional privileges, and are clever enough to do everything they can to preserve the illusion of their being the treasurers of some mysteries of extraordinary importance. They would be the last men to give reliable information, or especially hand over what they possess of their religious books.

The Ali-ilahis are subdivised into a considerable number of sub-sects, and it always so happens that the one to which the sectarian, with whom you happen to be talking himself belongs, is the oldest, the most important, influential and "orthodox". The names of such branches are differently given by different people, and the impression may be created that no-one knows anything for certain, always being ready to "improvise" the answer concerning matters of which he has no idea.

The religious practice of the sect consists of the usual items of Islamic worship, without, however, its Arabic

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the complete history, even briefly. The fact that some of these stories narrate the miracles of the manifestation or disappearance of the Deity in no way makes them intended to be history.

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shell. The most important un-Islamic feature is the *jam'*, or community's meeting at which sacrificial blessed food is distributed. It is, in fact, a close parallel of the Satpanth *ghaṭ-pâṭ*. There are also fasts, payment of a religious tax, and so forth, which are technically called *khidmat*, "service." The number of the *khidmats* is ten, and this number is apparently fixed. It is characteristic of the level of the religious education of the sect that despite my persistent inquiries at every opportunity of meeting any sectarian, I could never get a complete list of all ten. The text translated by Minorsky contains several aetiological myths of various *khidmats*, but it is difficult to recognize them without knowing to what they refer.

I hope the outlines given above will be sufficient to help the reader to follow the text of the fragment edited here. It would be a deplorable loss for the cultural history of Asia if the beliefs and literature of the sect were allowed to become extinct and forgotten without having been critically studied, because here we may trace important data that might serve as the keys to the solution of the problems of "sub-cultural" exchange and connections of wide masses.

2. *An Analysis of the Text.*

Instead of arranging explanations, which the fragment greatly needs, in the form of footnotes, I feel it is more convenient and rational to offer them in the form of preliminary remarks. Having read them, the student will more easily find his way in the text.

There can be little room for doubt that the book, of which our fragment forms a part, was composed either by a sectarian with strong ties with darwishism, or a darwish of a high degree of initiation, closely affiliated with the Ali-ilahis. It is for this reason that one of the first matters with which he deals here is the aetiological myth of the ceremony of *sar supurdan* (or *sar dâdan*) to which we shall return in due course. Generally speaking, darwishism, especially Shi'ite darwishism in the post-Mongol period (as

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far as it is possible to see), occupied a key position in all kinds of religious, social, national and other movements in mediaeval life. It is therefore a really sad admission that we know next to nothing about it. This merits consideration if we remember that studies of Sufism started in Europe more than 150 years ago. Unfortunately, from the very start, early arm-chair experts had adopted the viewpoint which they found in Persian and Arabic works, namely that all that matters is the so-called "philosophy" of Sufism, i.e. childish and helpless paraphrasing of the ill-understood and ill-adjusted popular version of Hellenistic wisdom which came into circulation in the Islamic society through second and third hands. No-one apparently cared to note that such quasi-philosophical works simply repeat each other, being composed on the same principle as in poetry scores of poems are devoted to one and the same subject : Khusraw wa Shîrîn, Laylî wa Majnûn, etc. What the authors aimed at, was to offer a new and more styllistically perfect form of what everyone already knew, and not to search for and explore the deep and elusive mysteries of mystical experiences. All this monotonous matter, in which, of course, there are occasionally works of talented authors although the majority are merely individual fancies of dreamers or simply the production of charlatans (quite many of them) in prose and verse, was proclaimed the standard and the essence of Sufism. But every manifestation of popular ideas, forms, dreams and views was invariably treated as something far too inferior and unworthy of attention, just as popular poetry, rural dialects, popular beliefs, customs, art, and so forth. Once such ideas had set in, 150 years were unable to upset or alter them.

Almost every student of Persian at the beginning of his career falls in love with Sufism, that Protheus of Persian spiritual life which always promises more than it really possesses. There were, however, many real "specialists" in this matter, revered for their learning. In spite of all these, if we are asked to mention really valuable monographs on Sufic matters, one would have to confess that with the

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possible exception of L. Massignon's study of Ḥallâj (1922), there is, in fact, *none*. The arm-chair programme insisted that before we did anything we must have at our disposal reproachless critical editions of all earlier texts. This, of course, would take the work of many generations of students, who, after all, would be all the time "groping in the dark" without a reliable synthesis of the subject. It is really important to have only critical editions of such texts : they deal with pious dreams, prayers, miracles, visions, vigils, fasts, pious reflections, and other highly important subjects in which every textual error might surely ruin the whole chain of learned reasoning. No wonder that after all we in fact know *nothing* of Sufism as it was in real life, active in wide masses, playing an immensely important part in the social life of mediaeval Islam. Life itself played a trick with arm-chair plans and programmes. While these were still at their beginning, events in political life created an attitude in the awakening Eastern nations ruthlessly antagonistic to religious parasitism which formed a prominent element in Sufism. The result is that, except in a few remote corners, Sufism is practically extinct, a thing of the past, and nothing can resuscitate it. Thus, under the learned guidance of clever "specialists", we have wasted 150 years during which by careful observation and, as far as practicable, collecting statistical data, we could have provided invaluable material for the correct understanding of many social processes in the past on which we will find nothing in the "philosophical" works of the "learned and true" form of Sufism.

Apologizing for a digression, I have to point out that whenever we have to deal with popular religious forms, darwishism always comes up in one way or another as either the source or an intermediary in carrying various elements and beliefs to different corners of the Islamic world.[1] As

[1] The migrations of darwishes even during the period immediately preceding the first world war were still remarkably extensive, spreading from Constantinople to Rangoon. If it was so during the phase of complete decay of the movement, we may

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a widespread organisation of a religious nature which never missed an opportunity of advertising that it was the guardian of a supposed higher knowledge and supreme truth, darwishism certainly exercised much influence not only upon the lower classes professing the majority religion but also upon the unsophisticated members of various sectarian communities. It is for this reason that we find so much popular Sufic influence either in writings of the Ali-ilahis, Satpanthis, or Persian Ismailis of a later period, while, on the other hand, there is little room for doubt that darwishism itself, in its syncretist tendency, had absorbed much from all the communities mentioned above.

The fragment begins with the helpless discussion of the attributelessness of God, the theory which is generally known under the term of *tanzîh*, and is familiar to every student of Ismailism. Of course, it by no means forms an exclusive peculiarity of the Ismaili system, and was also common to other Shi'ite sects. Here the author's absence of literary experience makes it blurred and rather confusing. We may keep in mind the fact that all such discussions found in the present text are based on an idea similar to the ancient gnostic theory of the real Supreme God, attributeless and unknowable in His nature, and God the Creator, who becomes incarnated as man on earth. Here the author struggles to express this in his discussion of *Aḥad* and *Wâḥid*, both terms meaning "one", but forming an inexhaustible source for theological hair-splitting and theorizing as to the difference between both. The triads which the author mentions further on are undoubtedly Sufic and Ali-ilahi adaptations of the usual theory of emanation : *amr*, or *kalima*, *'aql-i kull* and *nafs-i kull*, which, however, themselves do not appear here.

Not feeling at home with such abstruse speculations, the author makes many strange statements. The *Wâḥid*,

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easily believe that under the Mongols or Timurids such "invisible" contact with India was fairly permanent. It is beyond doubt that Shi'ite darwishism in Persia shows clear and indisputable traces of Indian ascetic ideas.

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i.e. God-Creator, who is, in Sufic allegorical parlance, the "educator and teacher" (*murabbî wa adîb*, of course, of the *murîd*, i.e. the world) is the "mirror of the One" (*mir'ât-i Aḥad*). This obviously does not mean the mirror, but what is in the mirror, i.e. a reflection of the One. Thus the Incarnation becomes as if a true copy, reflection in the mirror, of the One, i.e. Supreme God reduced to perceptible form for the humans, quite a Christian motif. The *Wâḥid*, whom we may safely translate as the Incarnation, is, as the author says, *haykal-i Aḥad*, i.e. temple, form, image, face, figure, etc., of the "God of all" (*Ilah-i kull*). The triads are composed of the *Aḥad*, One, the *Wâḥid* who occupies the position of the *amr*, or *kalima*, or *'aql-i kull*, and the third member, the *nafs-i kull* to whom the author only makes allegorical reference. In his philosophizing zeal he depends principally on words rather than ideas. In this way he makes a distinction between *jawhar* and *gawhar*, although the second is merely the Persian form of the first. The author uses the term *jawhar*, which in Persian is commonly used as "chemical substance", or acid, in the general sense of "substance" (usually *mâdda*) and *haykal*, instead of *ṣûrat*, as accidence (*'araḍ*). All this philosophy is further on substantiated by Kabbalistic speculations over letters and their numerical values. As in all similar speculations, it is presupposed that the name of a thing is its Platonic idea which has an independent existence. The sounds, or rather letters, with which the author is concerned in writing, are elements of words, i.e. names, i.e. ideas, and thus the elements of everything existent. They therefore take the form of a limited number of the basic ideas of everything in the world, and the world itself, in its entirety. This is why such futile speculations possess such deeply convincing value for the unsophisticated adepts. The fact that, by incidental custom, *alif* is not marked in the spelling of certain Arabic words, where it should be written, thus comes to the position of a profound symbol of cosmic importance.

In this philosophy it is not only letters that matter, but

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also dots which are used as diacritical signs. Special importance, as we see, is attributed to the additional Persian letters which do not exist in Arabic, *p*, *ch*, and *zh*.[1] Moreover, in Ali-ilahi speculations of this kind, yet further development is found. Not content with the theory of letters being the "elements" of the world, they go a step further and divide the letters themselves into dots, *nuqṭas*, into which calligraphers divide letters while teaching their pupils in order to show the standard proportions of every letter. In practice a *nuqṭa* is a miniature square stain made by a *qalam*, reed pen, moved over paper for a distance of one breadth of its tip. The pupils are taught that *alif* must be so many *nuqṭas*, or squares, long, *b* so many, and so forth. Each style of handwriting has its proportions which are regarded as standard.

The Ali-ilahis have made the world a symbol of Sufic, or rather darwish, ideas. Thus *yâ*, the last letter of the alphabet, is a *ṭâlib*, or *murid* of *lâ*, and the latter of *hâ*, and the latter of *waw*, and so forth, till *alif*, which itself is a *ṭâlib* of three dots, these are a *ṭâlib* of two dots, and these of one dot, *nuqṭa'i awwal*,[2] which, surely, should be God. The world is the *incarnation* of the letter *yâ* (*dunyâ* = *dun-i yâ*, where *dun* is a Turkish word for Arabic *libâs*, dress, in the sense of the body which a substance dons when incarnated).

What apparently the author wished to show by all these discussions, — if, of course, his speculations are really complete here, and there is no lacuna before he comes to the story of the creation, — is to show the position of Ṣâḥabkâr, the Creator, i.e. *Ṣâḥib-i Kâr*. He is the second person of the triads mentioned at the beginning, the third obviously

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[1] The same idea occurs in the speculations of the sect of the Ḥurûfîs. Cf. C. Huart, "Textes Persans relatifs à la Secte des Houroufis", Gibb Mem. Series, vol. IX, 1909, p. 6 sqq. (texts). The Ḥurûfîs, however, also add the letter *g* written not with the help of a flat stroke, but three dots.

[2] The text itself plainly mentions "*Jawhar ki nuqṭa'i awwal bâshad*" (at the very end of p. 9 of the original copy).

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being the *gawhars*,[1] i.e. created substances. An important point is omitted here. The sectarians divide humanity into two uneven parts, the *dhât-i qurṣ*, i.e. "hard substance", and *dhât-i mihmân*, i.e. "passing, incidental, guest-like, substance." The first is the essence of the direct descendants of an incarnation or its closest associates, called Sayyids, while the other are ordinary mortals. In order to affiliate the progeny of such associates, and partly in order to enhance their significance, the legends narrated here have been devised.

It is a familiar motif in such theosophical speculations that man, being the last and the most perfect creation, has the strongest case for being chosen for the incarnation of the Deity. Here this idea is expressed in the form of what amounts to the eternity of Adam. Adam is the first incarnation of the Deity in human form, but as the Deity was always incarnated, thus Adam becomes eternal, too. Later incarnations, such as all these Shâh Khushîns, Sulṭân Ṣuhâks, and others, are merely recent instances of the same eternal process. All of them were there — incarnation of Adam. Here the Coranic version interferes with the theory, God and Adam appear as two different persons, but, as it was explained to me, Ṣâḥabkâr, Shâh Khushîn, and so forth, all were the same substance as Adam. It is in order to witness and give testimony of such identity that the further proceedings have been instituted.

Jawhar, i.e., Divine Substance, incarnated in human form, *calls out* Banyamîn, described as an incarnation of Jabrâ'il, or Salmân.[2] We need not halt on the association

[1] The term which the author uses for conveying the idea of the creation, *gawhar*, which in modern colloquial mostly means a jewel (and as such is often used as feminine name), has no fixed associations of that sense. In the *Ummu'l-kitâb* (ed. W. Ivanow, "Der Islam", Berlin, 1936) it is equally used both for the Deity and creations, as in *Gawhar-i âfarînanda* (228) and *gawharân-i bad-bakhtân* (146), while at the same time *jawhar* is used for the creation : *jawhar-i munkirân* (227). The author's use of the term seems to be individual and arbitrary.

[2] It is interesting to note that Satpanth has also an incarnation of Jabrâ'il, plainly described as such, Chandan Vir, whom

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of these two names which has been in use ever since the beginning of Islam. The most difficult, however, is the explanation of the name Benyamîn. Has it anything to do with *Rûḥu'l-amîn* ? Or it is simply a honorific title *Ibn Yamîn*, "the one who (always) stands on the right (i.e. honourable) side" ? This name is usually spelled as Banî Āmîn, as in this text, but my insistent inquiries at every opportunity as to the meaning of the name failed to bring any sensible answer.

The very idea of "witnessing" may be connected not with the witnessing of the truth of the religion, but the identity of the person of the Imam, and these speculations clearly point to that. The Deity further on creates Dâ'ûd from His own sweat. This is another primitive way of avoiding the idea of creation from nothing. Banyamîn was "called out," as if he had already existed before having been called, and Dâ'ûd was thus related to the Deity, by substance. The next saint, Pîr-i Mûsî, was also not created from nothing, but made out of *hû*, i.e. the name of God, so much used in Sufism, simply "He", and *hû'î*, i.e. Divine ipseity. The next saint is created from the seal, *muhr*, of the Deity. The seal, *khâtam*, in Arabic, here evidently symbolizes his functions as the Angel of Death, although this might have been a later development.

It is difficult to undesrtand why the second saint is called Dâ'ûd, undoubtedly a purely Biblical name which frequently occurs in Ali-ilahi stories. In Islamic ideas Biblical David does not play any big part. Contrary to this, Mûsâ,

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the Imam gives as a guide to Imamshah to show Paradise (*Jannatpuri, sloka* 50). I was interested to find more references to him, but it seems that he is mentioned only rarely, and not much is known about him. Of course, there is no need to take such a reference too seriously. Mystics can say anything, without any special reason. It may be added that in the *Satveni-ji Vel*, a comparatively very modern work (usually attributed to the authorship of Nar Muḥammad Shâh, son of Imâm-Shâh X/XVI c.), the story is narrated that 'Alî appointed Qanbar as the mukhi of the *jamât*, and Salmân as the *kamriyâ*. This sums up the relative attitude towards these two worthies.

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Biblical Moses, was by some sects regarded as the greatest of the Apostles of God, because he was the fourth, and the number four is the "most perfect".[1] We may also remember that the early Khaṭṭâbites had amongst their "angels" or prophets a "Robust Moses." The epithet of Pîr-i Mûsî, *qalam-zan-i Lawḥ*, "writer on the tablet," is also Biblical, obviously referring to the Tables of Law, received on mount Sinai. The name of the fourth angel, Muṣṭafây-i Dâ'ûdân, is again enigmatic. It is quite probable that all these names belonged to the saints, members of the original sect which laid the foundation to Ali-ilahism, and that they simply bore ordinary Biblical names : Benjamin, David, Moses, and a certain "son of David," who later on received the name of Muṣṭafâ.

The idea that the Deity, having created the world, found no task more urgent than that of establishing the institution of the pîr-ship and its relation with the *murîd*, is a part of the Sufic vision of the world. In such an ideology the relations of the *pîr* and *murîd* are certainly fundamental. The deliberate emphasising of the paradoxical situation in which the Deity wants to become a *murîd* of His own creation, is also a Sufic symbol. It was obviously intended as an aetiological myth for the situation in which the Prophet, who actually was the "instructor" of 'Alî, i.e. the person who conveyed to him the still unrevealed portion of the Divine Revelation, was in fact a *murîd*, while 'Alî was the *pîr*, being a Divine incarnation.

The creation of the *jawz*, a nut (in practice it is what is called *jawz-i bûyâ*, nutmeg) from the Creator's own sweat is another aetiological myth, intended to stress the Divine origin of the ceremony. The nut is offered as a substitute for one's head, which is "entrusted" or "given" (*supurda* or *dâda shawad*) to the *pîr*, who cuts it to pieces which he distributes amongst those present at the ceremony. I hope

[1] Such belief is refuted by Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî at the beginning of the fourth *juz'* of his *Kitâbu'l-Iṣlâḥ*, probably because such a theory was advanced in the *Kitâbu'l-Maḥṣûl*, which he corrects.

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to deal elsewhere with the details of the ceremony, and their symbolism. [1]

As has been mentioned above, the Deity, having laid the foundation to these ceremonies, disappears, instructing the participants to carry on the preaching and guidance of people towards God (here *Jawhar*).

The next item is the mystical hierarchy, quite common amongst all the Sufic schools. It exists in a great number of variants, and although its original implications have been forgotten, such matters as the *quṭb*, *chihil tan*, *rijâl-i ghayb*, etc., are on everyone's tongue. [2]

This is here called the *jam'*, i.e. ceremonial assembly, which was held in the *dharra'i kull*, or *dharra-i gil* ? The first expression appears to be far-fetched, while the second may simply be hyperbolism in the reverse, *dharra-i gil*, "a speck of mud" standing for the name of the earth. [3] Further on it is said that that assembly, *jam'*, was held in Fire, while in the world there was the domination of fire, *salṭanat-i nâr*. [4] Some of the sectaries whom I consulted found this

[1] In V. Minorsky's text the *ithbât* of the same ceremony, (though in a different detail, the preparation of the sacrificial meal), is narrated on p. 58.

[2] The mystical hierarchy under the *Quṭb*, with its various versions, so often referred to in books on Sufism, is sometimes regarded as derived from the Fatimid *da'wat* hierarchy. This seems to me doubtful, because the Fatimid system was 'not fully developed before about the middle of the fourth/tenth c. Of course, it took time before it could have attained sufficient publicity to become a model for the mystical hierarchy chosen unintentionally and unconsciously. This would bring us well into the fifth/eleventh c., or even later. I therefore would be inclined to believe that the hierarchy had nothing to do with Ismailism. This, of course, will be perhaps properly decided when sufficient information is collected concerning the earliest traces of it in Sufic literature.

[3] The expression *dharra'i kull* may mean the atom, in the sense of a propotype of the universe.

[4] The sectarians whom I consulted were, apparently, rightly of the opinion that this expression refers to the idea of the creation of the rebelling spirits from fire, before the material world was created. It may be noted that in the strata to

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idea strange and insisted that the text should be corrected to the effect that the first assembly, *jam'* was held *zîr-i sâj-i nâr*. *Sâj* is the Turkish word for frying pan, and the expression *Sâj-i Nâr*, which occurs rather often in Ali-ilahi texts, simply means sky. [1]

The end of the fragment apparently contains the story of the insurrection of the disobedient spirits, and their punishment. It is quite unconnected with the preceding stories, and it seems that the author simply added it for record. Eschatological stories seem to be rare in such texts. Here the name of Iblîs appears in the Yezidî form of Malak Ṭâ'ûs, i.e. Peacock. [2] Unfortunately for the student, the story is left unfinished.

Thus the fragment, despite its small size, contains interesting information which merits recording. Its mixed style, in which colloquial, "bazar", expressions are interspersed with attempts at writing in a learned manner, with Arabic quotations and terms, and above all the author's obvious helplessness in expressing his thoughts, gives us to some extent a guarantee that he was acting in dead earnest while recording these stories.

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which darwishes and sectarians belong, i.e. amongst the people who are not in possession of higher, or, anyhow, proper theological education, there are found a multitude of what may be called cosmogonical myths, of the most fantastic varieties, usually highly dramatized. Being interested in this form of folklore, I tried hard to trace the books from which they are derived, but could never lay my hands on any, except for the ubiquitous revelations of 'Abdu'l-lâh b. Salâm, Ka'bu'l-Aḥbâr, etc.

[1] *Sâj-i nâr* is mentioned in V. Minorsky's text (p. 42), where it similarly appears a place of a *jam'*.

[2] *Ṭâ'ûs*, peacock, one of the birds of Paradise, is associated with the Devil in legends in which it is narrated that it carried the evil spirit into Paradise (from which the Devil was expelled) in its beck, in the form of a snake which later on seduced Eve and Adam (cf. *Ummu'l-Kitâb*, 213, 306). The expression Malak Ṭâ'ûs is apparently derived from the beliefs of the Yazîdîs, and does not seem to be usual in Ali-ilahi texts, where the evil spirit is called Dâ'ûd-i Rash (i.e. black).

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3. *Translation*.

In the Name of God, the High, the Highest !

Glory and praise be to the Lord of the World and of Man Who in His sacredness (*muqaddas*) is above all description and explanation, beyond definition and comprehension. His attributes are manifested in everything. It is He who grants special properties to plants like sandal wood or incense, who gives various colours to minerals, from the (white) pearl to the (red) ruby. The existence of the whole world is due to His existence, He is All-powerful, Almighty, Generous and Seing. It is He who has granted the beauty of His own exaltedness to the face (appearance) of man, He who bestowed the mantle of His limitless forgiveness to the noblest of creations, man. He manifests in man the boundless properties of the Invisible Mystery. He manifests Himself an endless number of times in the form of man in each period (*dawr*) and epoch (*kawr*). The comprehension of the Eternal Substance is above the power of understanding of all mortals, although His attributes are always manifested in every world and man. That knowledge is forbidden, as is known, and everyone who wants to comprehend His Substance is bound to fail in the attempt. [2] [1] This is why some one said : "If the knowledge is barred, the search is frustrated." In another saying there is a maxim : "Knowledge is concerned with one point, but the ignorant have made it concerned with many things." [2]

O, darwish ! Those who justify the principle "Whoever understood himself, understands his Lord," refer to one's knowing himself, thus (being able) to recognize his Lord (in His creation). Just in this sense the Final Prophet

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[1] The figures in square brackets refer to the pages of the original copy. Similar division has also been introduced in the text.

[2] All these *hadiths* are common in Sufic works. The one stating that "knowledge is barred" seem to be torn out of the context from a larger tradition.

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says: "My Lord has instructed me in the best way." The meaning of the Instructor[1] is One (*Wâḥid*) who is the mirror of the One (*Aḥad*), because all the properties of the latter are apparent from the former, as is said: "There is no difference between thee and my beloved." That form of the One (*Wâḥid*) is not for a moment excepted from the law of accidence (*'araḍ*). In every single age (*qarn*) that Mysterious Substance (*Jawhar*), the One (*Aḥad*), manifests itself in the accidence (*'araḍ*) under a certain name, because the *Aḥad*, the One, who is the same as *Wâḥid*, is free from possessing a (visible) form (*haykal*).[2] Such manifestation is the First Ādam (or First Man), while the second Ādam (or man)[3] comes from the Substance of the Instructor (*adîb*), just in the same way as the sun is in the sky, over the earth. His position is indicated by the Creator to the created by miracles (*âyât*) and proofs. [3] The proof (*ithbât*) of His being is His blessed substance from which are apparent the attributes of the Supreme Deity (*Ilâh-i Kull*).[4] That Mysterious Substance (*Dhât-i ghayb*) is neither complex, nor a body, nor substance, nor accidence. Is Divine Substance (*Jawhar*) visible by itself? No, this is impossible. It is visible only through its accidence, as, e.g., the

[1] The terms *murabbî* (explained as *tarbiyat dihanda*) and *adîb (ta'dîb dihanda)* appear to be synonyms. This symbolism presupposes the darwish vision of the world as a *murid*, darwish apprentice, instructed by God as the *pîr*. The terms *Aḥad* and *Wâḥid* are also used by the Nusayris (cf. Dussaud, "Histoire et religion des Nosairis," 1910, p. 141, note 3) and Druzes (cf. S. de Sacy, "Exposé", I, 16-17).

[2] The author uses this word as fancifully as *jawhar* and *gawhar*. It is obvious that here *haykal* should stand instead of *ṣûrat*.

[3] All through this text one is never certain whether the author speaks of Adam, the first man, or generally of mankind. *Adam-i âkhar* may mean the second, and also "the other" man, i.e. ordinary human being.

[4] This is a strange expression, as if presuming that there are gods of various portions of the universe. My inquiries elicited no definite information as to whether such an expression is generally used.

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accidence of man is his stature (*haykal*). This[1] is placed into the heart of Adam (or man, generally ?) and rests there just as the stature of the letter *alif* in the word *li'l-lâh* (*Allâh ?*)[2] It is dressed into three garments, one of (the colour of) the sun, the other of the moon, and the third of the brocade of the dawn.[3] That Substance cannot be recognized except in Ādam (or man, generally ?). It is proved (*ithbât mî-shawad*) from three words (*kalima*).[4]

Firstly, the people think that it is like the noun, verb, and adverb. Others say : day, night, and dawn (*fajar*). Others again say : spiritual guide (*murshid*), spiritual instructor (*pîr*) and spiritual teacher (*dalîl*).[5] Certain philosophers[6] call it : depth, length, breadth. Thus in various expressions they refer to three different ideas (*kalima*). (While) the basis is three dots, one dot becomes proved.[7]

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[1] "This" seems to refer to the *Jawhar*, and pertains to the Incarnation.

[2] The form *li'l-lâh* is probably given to make the author's reference to the hidden, i.e. unwritten *alif* more clear.

[3] The expression *dîbây-i fajar* evidently indicates that the author here has in view not the material but the colour of the sun and moon, just as in various *âftâb-rang* and *mâhtâb-rang* things in the *Ummu'l-kitâb*.

[4] What the author undoubtedly tries to express is the idea of the "treble rhythm" in the universe which his triads are intended to prove. This is an ordinary element of the *ta'wîl* and Kabbalistic speculations which in the author's unskilled exposition look so helpless.

[5] *Murshid* (Arabic) and *pir* (Persian) are synonyms. *Pîr-i murshid*, *pîr-i dalîl*, *pir-i naẓar* and *pir-i du'â* are four honorary ranks given to the more important participants in the ceremony of initiation among darwishes. The triad here appears strange, and probably implies an error.

[6] In the text : as *ḥikmat*. Thus : some (bringing an example) from philosophy....

[7] *Thâbit* and *thâlith* are very similar in writing. The sentence is apparently incomplete.

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When the devotee glorifying (?) the *alif* will draw it with the *alif* of the expression *ilâ illâ wa lâ illâ*[1] with the help of the (one) dot, the noun, verb and adverb become apparent. When that is so, one may draw that *alif* till it becomes the letter *yâ*.[2] O, darwish, what is that letter? Between *alif* and *yâ* there are twenty nine letters. Four (sacred) books are composed of those twenty nine letters. These twenty [4] nine letters come from three letters *ch*, *p* and *zh*, each of which is written with the help of three dots. These dots are the foundation, and the rest are additional.[3]

In every five hundred thousand years these three letters, which have nine dots, manifest themselves in a name which has the meaning of the number nine. This also is a symbol (*libâs*) of the One (*Wâḥid*), Muḥammad and 'Alî. These three names are derived from three original dots. This is the form of the three dots ... These three dots are these three names (either) in the Psalms (*Zubûr*) or the Coran (*Bayyina*).[4] In the numeral value of letters (*bayyina*) "*alif*" is one hundred and eleven. *Lif* is one hundred and ten. 'Alî is one hundred and ten. Muḥammad is ninety-two. Sub-

[1] The passage is meaningless because the text has been wrongly copied. These certainly are speculations as to Kabbalistic implications of the usual Muslim profession of faith *lâ ilâha illâ'l-lâh* which in all such theosophical works is treated as eternal, and therefore profusely interpreted in *ta'wîl* speculations. It is strange, however, that the scribe, if not the author, renders so meaningless such a well-known formula. The sentence, probably transcribed from a defective original, is obviously incomplete. Sectarian educated men whom I asked to explain the passage fared no better than myself.

[2] The meaning apparently is that as all letters consist of lines, like *alif*, it is possible with its help to write the whole alphabet.

[3] I have already referred to the similar Ḥurûfî ideas on the point. Cf. p. 162.

[4] So I was told by some educated sectarians. *Bayyina*, as they think, here stands for the usual *Bayân*. Just immediately after, however, *bayyina* appears to mean simply the numerical value of letters. Perhaps here *Zubûr* is not Psalms, but simply a name for Kabbalistical calculations ?

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tract this from one hundred and ten, and eighteen will remain. *Alif* is one, and thus there is 19 which is the sum of the letters in the word *Wâḥid*. The followers of the Path (*mardân-i ṭarîq*) call these three letters *pîr*, *murshid* and *murîd*.[1]

It is said[2] [5] that on the day when neither the earth nor the sky were in existence, the King of the whole and all things existed. He wanted to raise a world. He moved Himself, and vapour and smoke came up. From the steam there appeared a drop of something.[3] He made that something into water for a world. Steam condensed into water and hardened, taking position near the water, and that Mysterious One (*Ghayb*) moved His Spirit over the water. From the water wonderful creations became produced. He kept the water under His instruction[4] for five hundred thousand years until He created (the letter) *yâ*, and *yâ* came out (of water) upon the dry land (*khâk*).

It was water, and it purified a world.

It was water, and turned man into earth.[5]

For five hundred thousand years He instructed the earth (*khâk*), until He created the word "*hû*". In five hundred thousand years He made *yâ* into *lâ*[6] and *hû* into *illâ*. For five hundred thousand years He blew from the breeze of His Almightiness the breathing of His spirit upon the earth and water until He created a figure in the likeness of His own image (*ṣûrat*), and made Himself appear in the form (*libâs*) of Adam.[7] By His own tongue He pronounced : "And

[1] Cf. above, where it is *pîr, murshid* and *pîr-i dalîl*.

[2] The expression *mi-farmâyand* perhaps implicitly refers to some religious authorities, possibly the priest from whom the author derived this wisdom.

[3] Here *shay'î*, with *yâ-i waḥdat*, "something (material)".

[4] In this darwish picture of the word its relation with the Deity are those of a *murîd*, disciple, with his spiritual instructor. Such relations are projected upon everything.

[5] It is not clear what that "it" was which purified the world ?

[6] This is not *lâ* of negation, but the ligature *lâm-alif*.

[7] Here *ṣûrat* is used in the colloquial meaning of "face". Thus it is unequivocally stated that Adam was an incarnation of the Deity.

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blessings be upon God, the best of creators" (Coran, XXIII, 14). This creation has become[1] the best and noblest of all creations. This creation is called the First Adam. The meaning of the First Adam will be explained further on.

Adam the Friend of God who has already been nine [6] thousand years ruling (the earth), says : "When I came out of Paradise,[2] I held a small stone in my hand. It fell upon the earth, and I myself bent down to pick it up. Then a cry rose from four mountains : O, Adam, do not pick it up ! We, every small stone in us, shall become a sign of an Adam, and thou art the final of Adams (*khatm-i Ādam-hâ*)." Just as it was asked from Adam : O, Adam, who was before thee ? He replied : Adam. (They asked) : and before (that) Adam ? He replied : again Adam ; even if every moment the same question is repeated, I shall reply : Adam.[3]

O, darwish ! This world has neither a beginning nor an end. Faith (*îmân*)[4] is eternal (*qâ'im*) with God, but transient with men. It is narrated concerning that Adam : The Substance (*Jawhar*), after having created water and earth, wanted to raise a world. It created a (secondary) substance (*gawhar*) which was Banî Āmîn (Banyamîn). It called him out, using the word *yâ*, "*Yâ* (O !) Banî Āmîn, come, let us lay foundations to the (institution of) *pîr* and *murîd*". Banî Āmîn replied : "O, King, you (*sic*) are (Supreme) Substance in possession of Almightiness, and I am only a (secondary) substance (*gawhar*). I am created through Thee (*ba-wâsiṭa'i Tû*). I obey all that you would order."

[1] *Jalwa namûdan* may simply mean "to appear" (to become apparent).

[2] In all such stories one may see continuous oscilation between the Ali-ilahi conception of Adam and the Coranic version of the myth.

[3] This simply implies the continuity of the Incarnation.

[4] As many Arabic *maṣdars* in the colloquial Persian usage, *imân* here means not only faith as a psychological phenomenon, but also the *object* of faith, i.e. religion. The author evidently tries to convey the idea that there is one true religion with God, which mortals make variable.

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The Supreme Substance (*Jawhar*) said : "I, being the King, shall transfer my royal authority to thee, and accept the position of a *murîd*." The (secondary) substance (*gawhar*) replied : "O, King, I possess no power to keep the world (in order)." [7] The *Jawhar* said : "I shall give thee assistants (*yâr*) and present thee with slaves (*ghulâm*)." The *gawhar* asked : "Who will be the witness (of the transfer of authority) ?" The *Jawhar* out of the word "*hû*", and its substance (*hû'î*) created Pîr-i Mûsî, the Record Keeper (*Qalam-zan*). (The King) said : "O, friend (*yâr*), be witness of the fact that I accept Banî Āmîn, who is a (secondary) substance (*gawhar*), as my *pîr*, i.e. spiritual guide, and become myself a *murîd*, from to-day that is (the time of) life (*nashr*) till the day of *hashr*, death." Pîr-i Mûsî asked : "What is the purpose of myself and my being created, (besides being) the witness?" The *Jawhar* replied : "I appoint thee the record-keeper of all good and bad actions (of mankind)." Pîr-i Mûsî again asked : "And who is the witness of this ?" (The *Jawhar*) then created Dâ'ûd from His own sweat, and said : "O, Dâ'ûd, be a witness that I have accepted Banî Āmîn as my *pîr*, and myself as his *murîd*, and appointed Pîr-i Mûsî as the record-keeper of the Table of Fate (*Lawḥ*)." Dâ'ûd then asked : "What is the purpose of my creation?" The *Jawhar* answered : "I appoint thee as a guide and assistant, giving relief to people in difficulties." Dâ'ûd asked : "And who is the witness (of this)?" The King out of His seal ring (*muhr*) created Muṣṭafây-i Dâ'ûdân, and said : "Be witness of the fact that I have accepted Banî Āmîn as my *pîr*, appointed Pîr-i Mûsî as the record-keeper, and Dâ'ûd as the helper (of those) in difficulties." Muṣṭafây-i Dâ'ûdân asked : "What is the purpose of my creation?" The *Jawhar* answered : "I appoint thee as the one who takes the souls (out of human bodies on their deaths), *qâbiḍ-i arwâḥ*." He also wanted a witness, [8] and the King created fifteen thousand slaves (*ghulâm*) out of the *gawhar* (secondary substance), entrusting these to Banî Āmîn. They all gave evidence (of what they witnessed). Then (the King) created

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nine thousand (other) slaves out of His own substance (*az jawhar-i khûd*), entrusting these to Muṣṭafây-i Dâ'ûdân, and they also became witnesses. [1]

Then the King, in the presence of the four Angels, namely, Banî Āmîn, Pîr-i Mûsî, Dâ'ûd, and Muṣṭafây-i Dâ'ûdân, collected the sweat on His forehead, and it turned into a nut (*jawzî basta shud*). He broke it before the assembly (*dar khidmat-i jam'*) before Banî Āmîn, thus handing over His own head to the *gawhar*. The others (*yârân*) also, one after the other, handed over their heads, and received possession of the mystery (*sirr*). The King then appointed these four *pîrs* as *pîr-i dalîl*, *pîr-i irshâd*, *pîr-i naẓar*, and (one more) *pîr-i dalîl*, [2] in order that they might carry on preaching and give guidance to humanity in their search for the *Jawhar*, so that when He Himself comes, they would recognize Him. He gave each of them a trust and (special) instructions (*amânat wa ẖkâm*), [3] and Himself disappeared behind the veil of absence (*parda'i ghayb*). [4] They (*yârân*) formed an assembly (*jam'*) in the particle of the Universe (*dharra'i kull*), [5] conveying the mystery of (the future) manifestations. [6] They laid the principles of the assembly of the faithful (*uṣûl-i jam'*). [7]

[1] Thus the assistants of the Angel of Death are consubstantial with God. This sounds strange, and may be the result of an error on the part of the copyist.

[2] Here *pîr-i dalîl* is thus mentioned twice, although at the ceremony there can only be one. It is clear therefore that we should read *pîr-i du'ā*, as the most suitable person, to correct an error.

[3] No one could explain to me what was that *amânat*. Another *amânat* (*ṣundûq-i amânat*) is mentioned at the end of the fragment, in the possession of the evil spirit.

[4] This is simply a figurative expression, not to be taken literally.

[5] This has been discussed above, p. 166.

[6] This most probably means the exchange of information concerning the signs of the return of the Incarnation.

[7] This expression may equally mean : and they held a *jam'* according to the rules laid down for such purpose.

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Such principles are five:[1] one is in the position of the Deity (*hâhût*).[2] [9] He is superior to (the next) three,[3] and these are superior to (the next) five. These are superior to seven, and these, in their turn, are superior to forty (*chihil tan*). These are superior to 72, and here the number becomes limitless. The fundamental numbers are : 1, 3, 5, 7, 40, and after forty come 72. Nine names are those of *Wâlis* (?),[4] two names (men) out of these nine belong to the *Quṭb*,[5] and seven others are his (whose?) men who are concealed (*rijâl-i û ki dar ghayb and*), while those two are the revealers of the mystery (*mafâtîḥ-i ghayb and*). 72 (27?) in the unity (*waḥdat*) of the number of fundamentals make twenty (?). In nine houses comes to balance (?) [6] When one (i.e. the first in the mystical hierarchy) dies (*parda mîkashad*), one of the next three takes the place of that one. From those five one takes the place of one of the three, from those seven one takes the place of (one of the) five. One of the forty takes the place of one of the seven, and one of the seventy two takes the place of one of forty. One of the seventy two is Ādam.[7]

[1] Either the author or the copyist is extremely negligent in his writing. In addition to this he has the habit of abbreviating the sentence in such a way that it becomes meaningless. His sentence is obviously a contraction of two sentences : *wa uṣûl-i jam' panj ast wa în în ast.*

[2] This is apparently a mistake for *lâhût*, Divinity.

[3] *Tajalli farmûdan* may be translated : "to shine over" or "rise above".

[4] *Wâlî*, as is known, means deputy, lieutenant. The passage is apparently full of mistakes. The usual Sufic hierarchy is 1:4:7:12:40:72:360. It is the 360 that are *rijâl-i ghayb*.

[5] How these two "belong" to the *Quṭb ?* All the sectarians to whom I showed this text could make nothing of it, and expressed surprise concerning these enigmatic two. "*Quṭb*, certainly, must be one".

[6] These meaningless sentences were apparently intended to mean the calculation of the sum of these numbers, and give an explanation of its Kabbâlistic significance.

[7] In this system of filling the vacancies that periodically occur the general principle is that of the promotion of a candidate from the next lower rank. Therefore it seems probable that the word Adam at the end of the scheme simply refers to the promotion of an ordinary man to fill the vacancy amongst the seventy two.

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This assembly (*jam'*) took place in Hell, or *Fire* (*nâr*), which reigned for five thousand years until Ādam appeared from the dust (*khâk*). The life of Ādam appeared from earth, and death of Ṭâ'ûs-i Kâ'ûs [1] was in Hell. The *Jawhar*, i.e. the First Dot, uttered [10] a call: "O, Banî Jânn, [2] I am the soul of all the souls, and spirit of all the spirits who had created you on the first Day. Come now to render your accounts." Those created of fire and water regarded themselves as equal to the *Jawhar*. They replied: "We are just like yourselves." They thus showed opposition, denying (the authority of) the *Jawhar*. The latter uttered a call: "O, Muṣṭafây-i Dâ'ûdân! Come here!" The Angel (Malak) Muṣṭafâ appeared with the slaves (*ghulâmân*) who were witnesses of the pre-eternal Divine act. The *Jawhar* ordered: "Take the spirit of all the spirits, and present it before the assembly (*jam'*)."

The "snatcher of spirits" went to take the souls, and began to catch them by forty different painful calamities, until the creations of fire became weak. They turned their faces towards their king who was Malak Ṭâ'ûs, and said: "O, king, it is obvious that the end of the world (*yawm-i ḥashr*) has arrived, and the world became dark and sinister." Malak Ṭâ'ûs looked into the box of trust (*ṣundûq-i amânat*), [3] and saw that (really) the day of the death had arrived, and that the *Jawhar* is going to lay foundation of the (new) life. In a moment he saw that Muṣṭafây-i Dâ'ûdân had appeared. He addressed Muṣṭafâ, and said: "O, snatcher of spirits! Take me along with thyself to the King of Love"... [4]

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[1] *Ṭâ'ûs* has been discussed above. The word *Kâ'ûs* is apparently simply "assonantal" (*tâbi'*).

[2] Cf. *Ummu'l-Kitâb* where the evil spirit is often called Jânn b. al-Jânn (197, 200, 203, 336).

[3] No one has been able to explain to me what the *amânat* (deposit, security) was, and why it was kept in a box.

[4] The expression *pâdshâh-i 'ishq* sounds quite extraordinary. Perhaps its strangeness is the result of the interruption of the sentence in which it occurs.

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بسم الله العلی العظیم

حمد وثنا خدای عالم وآدم راکه مقدس از ذکر وبیان است ومنزه ازتبیان واتیان است ، صفاتش در کل اشیا ظاهر ، خاصیت بخش نباتات از صندل وعود رنك پرداز جمادات از در الی (۱) یاقوت ، هستیء کل عالم از هستیء او بر پاست قادر و توانا و بخشنده وبینا ، زیبائی (۲) طلعت خودرا بوجه انسان عطا فرموده وخلعت غفران نا متناهیء خودرا بهیکل اشرف مخلوقات آدم پوشیده ، واز آدم صفاتهای لا یحصی از آن غیب لا یری هویدا گردد درهر دوری از ادوار وکوری از اکوار تجلیء لا یعد از هیکل بشر آشکار نماید ، شناختن آن ذات قدیم (۳) از فهم کل خلق دور است ولا کن صفاتش از کل عالم وآدم دایم در ظهور است ، وآن عالمی راکه مسدود میدانند . . . وهرکه طلب نماید مردود است [۲] در عارف شدن بذات او (٤) این است که میفرماید العلم مسدود الطلب مردود ، در جای دیگر در اشارت است العلم نقطة کثرها الجاهلون ، ای درویش مقام من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه در باب شناختن خود ورب خود است چنانکه خاتم الانبیا صلعم میفرماید قد ادبنی ربی فاحسن تأدیبی ، مراد از مربی واديب واحد است که مرآت احد است که جمیع صفات احد از واحد مشاهده میشود در مقام لا فرق

(۱) ن الا (۲) ن ذیبائی (۳) ن قدم (٤) ن اوست

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بینك وبین حبیبی : میفرمایند وآن هیکل واحد در هیچ نفسی خارج از عرض[1] نیست ، درهر قرنی از قرون به اسمی از اسما آن جوهر غیب که احد است بواسطهٔ عرض که منزه است هیکل احد[2] که واحد است ظاهر میشود واوست آدم اول وآدم آخر از جانب ذات ادیب است چون شمس به ارض و سما ، دلیل او آیات وبرهان است از خالق بخلق [۳] و اثباتش وجود مبارك او که صفا تهای اله کل از او پیداست ، آن ذات غیب نه مرکب است نه جسم نه جوهر ونه عرض ، جوهر آن است که بخودیء خود دیده شود ؟ ممکن نیست ، ولا کن بواسطهٔ عرض دیده میشود ، عرض هیکل انسان است ، واو در دل آدم قرار وسکون دارد چون قاءت الف لله[3] واو سه لباس پوشیده یکی از شمس یکی از قمر ویکی از دیبای فخر ، اورا نتوان شناخت جز در آدم و او از سه کلمه اثبات میشود ، اول قومی بر آن اند اسم وفعل وحرف ، برخی گویند شب و روزو فجر ، جماعتی گویند مرشد پیر دلیل ، فرقهٔ از حکما[4] خوانند عمق طول عرض ، به لسانهای مختلف از ۳ کلمه الا الا و لا الا کشید[5] باهمین یك نقطه اسم وفعل وحرف آمد عیان ، چون چنین شد این الف را میتوان تا یا کشید ، ای درویش آن چه حرف است ؟ از الف تا ی بیست [٤] نُه حروف است ، چهار کتاب تألیف بیست و نُه حروف و بیست نُه حرف از سه حروف حرکت نموده

(۱) ن ارض (۲) ن احمد (۳) الله ؟ (٤) ن حکمت (٥) کشد ؟

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چ پ ژ واین سه حروف هر یك سه نقطه دارد ، واین نقطها اصل است و باقی فرع ، درهر پانصد هزار سالی این سه حروف که نُه نقطه دارد به یك اسم که نُه عدد دارد ظاهر میشود ، آن هم بلباس واحد محمد علی ، واین سه اسم از سه نقطهٔ اصل تکلم میفرمایند، این شکل سه نقطه . . . واین سه نقطه در زبور وبینه همین سه اسم است ، دربینه الف صد یازده عدد است لف صد ده علی صد ده محمد نود دو عدد ، از صد ده عدد بیرون بیاور هیجده عدد باقی ماند الف هم یکی این نوزده عدد که عدد واحد باشد واین سه نقطه را مردان طریق پیرو مرشد ومرید میخوانند ،

میفرمایند [٥] روزی که نه زمین ونه آسمان بود پادشاه کل عالم وجمیع چیزها جوهر بود ، خواست عالمی را برپانماید ، خودرا حرکت داد بخار ودخان صعود نمود ، از دخان قطرهٔ شیئی ظاهر آمد وآن شیئی عالمی را آب کرد ، وبخار در آب جمع گردید منجمد شد ، در کنار آب قرار گرفت ، وآن غیب روح خودرا بروی آب متحرك ساخت ، واز آب خلقهای عجائب آفریده شد ، پانصد هزار سال آب را در تربیت خود داشت تا یارا آفرید ویا بخاك بر آمد (بیت)

آب بودی عالمی را پاك کرد ✡ آب بودی آدمی را خاك کرد

پانصد هزار سال در خاك تربیت میفرمودتا اینکه هورا آفرید ، پانصد هزار سال یارا لا نمود وهورا الا وپانصد هزار سال از نسیم

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قدرت خود نفحهٔ روح را به خاك وآب میوزید ، تا اینکه صورتی بصورت خود آفرید وخودرا بلباس آدم قرار داد واز لسان خود فتبرك الله أحسن الخالقین فرمود ، این خلقت بهترین واشرفترین کل خلقت جلوه نمود واین را آدم اول خوانند ، مراد از آدم اول شرح میشود ، آدم صفی الله که نُه [٦] هزار سال است سلطنت میکند میفرماید از بهشت بدر آمدم ریزه سنگی در دست داشتم ، افتاد بروی زمین ، خم گشتم که بر دارم ، ازچهار کوه ندا بر آمد که ای آدم بر مدار ، ما هر ریزه سنگی نشان یك آدم باشیم وتو ختم آدمها هستی ، چنانکه سؤال شده یا آدم پیش از توکه بود ، فرمود آدم ، پیش از آدم ، باز مکرر فرمود آدم ، باز سؤال ، فرمود درهر نفسی اگر سؤال شود باز گویم آدم ، ای درویش این دنیارا نه اولی باشد و نه آخری ، ایمان بنزد خدا قایم است بنزد بنده گان حادث است(١) ، در این آدم میفرما ید ، جوهر بعد از خلقت آب وخاك خواست عالمی را برپا نماید ، گوهری را آفرید که بنی آمین باشد ، ندا در داد بکلمهٔ یا که یا بنی آمین بیا بنای پیرو مرید بگذاریم بنی آمین عرض کرد یا پادشاه شما جوهرید و صاحب اقتدارومن گوهرم بواسطهٔ تو خلق شدم ، هرچه بفرمائید اطاعت کنم ، جوهر فرمود من که پادشاهم پادشاهی راوا گذار تو نمایم وخودرا بمریدی قبول کنم ، گوهر عرض کرد ای پاد شاه مرا آن قدرت نیست که عالم را نگه داری [٧] کنم ، جوهر فرمود تورا یار دهم وغلام عطا کنم ، گوهر عرض کرد شاهد یار کیست ، جوهر از هو

(١) ن اهادسه

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و هوئی پیر موسی قلمزن را آفرید ، فرمود ای یارتو شاهد باش که من بنی آمین راکه گوهر باشد بپیر خود قبول کردم وخود را بمریدی از الیوم که نشر است تا الی یوم حشر ، پیر موسی عرض کرد سبب ازمن وخلقت من چیست که شاهد باشم ؟ جوهر فرمود تورا قلمزن کل حسنات وسیئات قرار دادم ، عرض کرد شاهد کیست ، داؤدرا از آب تن خلق کرد فرمود ای داؤد تو شاهد باش که من بنی آمین را به پیر خود قبول کردم وخودرا بمریدی وپیر موسی را قلمزن لوح قرار دادم ، داؤد عرض کرد سبب از خلقت من چیست ، جوهر فرمود تورا رهبر ومشکل گشا نمودم داؤد عرض کرد شاهد کیست ؟ پادشاه از مهر خود مصطفیء داؤدان خلق کرد ، فرمود تو شاهد باش که من بنی آمین را بپیر خود قبول نمودم ، پیر موسی را قلمزن قرار دادم ، داؤد را مشکل گشا ، مصطفیء داؤدان عرض کرد سبب از خلقت من چیست ؟ جوهر فرمود تورا قابض کل ارواح قرار دادم ، شاهد خواست[۸] پادشاه پانزده هزار غلام آفرید از گوهر به بنی آمین سپرد ، شهادت دادند نُه هزار غلام آفریداز جوهر خود بمصطفیء داؤدان سپرد ، شهادت دادند ، پادشاه در حضور چهار ملك بنی آمین ، پیر موسی ، داؤد ، مصطفیء داؤدان عرق پیشانی خود جمع نمود جوزی بسته شد ، در خدمت جمع بنزد بنی آمین شکست وسر خود را بگوهر سپرد ، ویاران همه یك یك سر دادند سرّ گرفتند ، وپادشاه این چهار پیررا یکی پیر دلیل ، ویکی پیر نظر ویکی پیر دلیل قرار داد که خلق را دعوت

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وهدایت کنند بسوی جوهر تا اینکه خود بیاید واورا بشناسند ، وهریك ایشان را امانت واحکام داد ، وپادشاه در پردهٔ غیب فرو رفت ، یاران جمع را در ذرهٔ کل بستند وسرّ ظهور را بهم پیوستند واصول جمع را بستند ، واصول پنج این است ، اول یك تن که در مقام هاهوت (لاهوت ؟) ساکن است [۹] تجلی میفرماید به سه تن ، سه تن تجلی میفرمایندبه پنج تن ، پنج تن تجلی میفرمایند بهفت تن ، هفت تن (تجلی) میدهند بچهل تن ، چهل تن (تجلی) میدهند بهفتاد دوتن ، دراین مقام از حدوحدود میگذرد ، اصول این است ۱ ، ۳ ، ۵ ، ۷ ، ۴۰ ، بعد از ۴۰ تن هفتاد دو تن ، ۹ اسم والیند (؟) و۲ اسم از این نه نفر قطب است وهفت دیگر رجال اوکه در غیب اند ، وآن ۳ نفر مفاتیح غیب اند ، ۲۷ (۷۲ ؟) در وحدت عدد اصول بیست عدد است ، در نه خانه میزان است ، یك تن پرده میکشد ازسه تن یکی بجای یك تن در آید ، از پنج تن یکی بجای سه تن ، از هفت تن یکی بجای پنج تن ، از چهل تن یکی بجای هفت تن ، از هفتاد دوتن یکی بجای چهل تن ، از هفتاد دوتن یکی آدم است ، واین جمع درنار بسته شد و ۵ هزار (۵۰۰۰) سال هم سلطنت ناربود ، تا آنکه آدم از خاك ظاهر شد ، نشر آدم بود ازخاك حشر طاؤس بود درنار ، جوهر که نقطهٔ اول باشد ندا [۱۰] درداد ای بنی جانّ منم جان همه جانان وروح همهٔ ارواح که در یوم نخست شمارا خلق کردم اکنون بیآئید بپای حساب ، یاران نار وآب همه خودرا چون جوهر میدیدند گفتند ما همچون شمائیم ، اعراض نمودند وجوهررا انکار

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کردند ، جوهر ندا در داد یا مصطفیء داؤدان حاضر شو ، ملك مصطفی با غلامان که شاهد بودند حاضر آمدند ، فرمود بگیر روح همه ارواح در حضور جمع حاضر نما ، قابض ارواح روانه شد ازپی جان گرفتن . به ٤٠ نوع بلاهای رنج قبض روح می نمود تا اینکه خلقت نار به عجز آمدند ، روبیکی پادشاه که ملك طاؤس باشد نمود (نموده) عرض کردند ای پادشاه معلوم چنان است که یوم حشر گشته ، دنیا تیره وتار است ، ملك طاؤس در صندوق امانت نگاه کرد دید یوم حشر است وجوهر بنای نشر دارد ، بیك نظر مصطفیء داؤدان را حاضر دید عرض کرد ای قابض ارواح مرا با خود به حضور پادشاه عشق ببر . . .

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V.

FRAGMENTS of the KITĀBU'R-RUSHD WA'L-HIDĀYAT

The Arabic text edited by

Dr. M. KAMIL HUSSEIN

Some fragments of the *Kitâbu'r-Rushd wa'l-Hidâyat* were found by my friend W. Ivanow [1] at the end of the *Sullamu'n-najât*, a work by the famous Ismaili *dâ'î* of the X-th c., Abû Ya'qûb Isḥâq b. Aḥmad as-Sijistânî (or as-Sijzî, Sagzî) who died soon after 360/971. In the colophon it is briefly stated : *najaz kalâm Manṣûri'l-Yaman naḍara'l-lâh wajha-hu.* From this we may see that whether rightly or wrongly the work is attributed to the authorship of the famous Ismaili *dâ'î* in the Yaman, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥawshab b. Zâdân al-Kûfî who was sent by one of the "hidden Imams" from Kufa to Southern Arabia in 266/879. [2] As is known, he settled at a place called 'Adan Lâ'a, [3] carrying on his propaganda. Using his own energy and favourable conditions in the province, with its tribal discord and continuous unrest, he succeeded in rallying around him large numbers of followers and, towards the end of the century, was de facto in control of the most of the Yamanite cities.

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[1] Mr. W. Ivanow has published a full translation of the text in his "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", section III, where information as to the original manuscripts and other details have been given.

[2] Muḥammad b. Mâlik al-Yamânî, in his book *Kashf asrâri'l-Bâṭiniyya* (p. 22) calls him al-Ḥasan b. Zâdhân, a descendant of Muslim b. 'Aqîl b. Abî Ṭâlib. Qâḍî Nu'mân, in his *Iftitâḥu'd-da'wa*, tells that Ibn Ḥawshab was a Shî'ite before he met with the Ismaili Imam who commissioned him to go to the Yaman for propaganda.

[3] Several eminent Ismaili *dâ'is* visited that town. We may mention Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl ad-Dâ'î and aṣ-Ṣulayḥî who laid foundations to the Ṣulayḥid *da'wat* in the Yaman.

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We must carefully note that there is no proof either of this treatise really being the work of Ibn Ḥawshab, or to the contrary. In any case there is no room for doubt as to this work being a product of great antiquity, of the period which preceded the rise of the Fatimid caliphate in 297/909, as may be seen from the internal evidence that the work contains. It is therefore valuable to the student as permitting him to have an idea of the doctrine which was preached by the Fatimids before they succeeded in their political aspirations. We may remember also that the movement which had actually brought them to the power was directly connected with that which developed in the Yaman. As is known, the talented organizer of the rising amongst the Berber tribes in North Africa, Abû 'Abdi'l-lâh ash-Shî'î, originally was sent to the Yaman as one of the subordinates of Ibn Ḥawshab to help him in his work. Manṣûru'l-Yaman, however, found him unsuitable, and sent him back to the headquarters. Abû 'Abdi'l-lâh, whose career seemed to be finished, and having nothing to lose, joined a few Katamite Berber pilgrims whom he met in Mekka on his way home. Thus he started his new adventurous career which brought him to the heighth of glory, and then to infamous death, leaving his name in history as that of one of the greatest organizers.

The fragments of the *Kitâbu'r-Rushd* which are here edited reveal not much, and do not offer a complete picture of the doctrine, but they are sufficient to authenticate certain statements scattered in the works of various enemies of the movement, which are occasionally found in controversial literature. They also help us to see the difference between the earlier and later phases in the evolution of the doctrine, as it later on developed under the Fatimid caliphs. The fragments belong to two groups, forming the two main parts of the text.

The first part is chiefly devoted to eschatology, dealing with the question of the advent of the promised Mahdî. Such beliefs do not differ much from the ideas which other schools of the Muslims hold on this subject. The

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author refers to the manifestation of the Mahdî at the end of the world, his advent at the time of the Resurrection of the dead. He shall be called Muḥammad, and will be the Seventh Apostle of God, the Great Prophet, or *Nâṭiq* according to Ismaili terminology. With him God will close the series of the Prophets who revealed His Will and Law to humanity. Thus there may be little doubt as to the discussions being the product of the period *before* the advent of the first Fatimid caliph who assumed the name of Mahdî, and whose real name was 'Ubaydu'l-lâh. We can see that in the works composed under the Fatimids the term Mahdî is no longer used, and the last *Nâṭiq* is invariably styled the *Qâ'imu'l-qiyâmat*, i.e. "the one who ariseth at the time of the Resurrection." This also continued during the period of the second *satr*, i.e. after the death of al-Āmir, when the headquarters of the *da'wat* was transferred to the Yaman.

The second part of the text, or group of fragments, deals with the *ta'wîl*, or allegorical interpretation of various suitable verses of the Holy Qur'ân. As may be seen, this early *ta'wîl* of the inner sense of the sacred book differs to some extent from the versions offered by later authors such as Qâḍî Nu'mân, Ḥamîdu'd-dín al-Kirmânî, al-Mu'ayyid fî'd-dîn ash-Shîrâzî, and even the descendant of Ibn Ḥawshab, Ja'far b. Manṣûri'l-Yaman, the author of several well-known books. This, however, is quite normal : there are no fixed equivalents in *ta'wîl*. What it explains is the spirit, not the word of the text, although our author shows a certain tendency towards the latter way of dealing with it, which may be yet another archaic feature of the work.

In its terminology the work displays certain similarity with the Sufic terminology of later periods : the terms such as *naqîb*, *abdâl*, etc., re-appear in various mystical speculations of the Sufis. It may be noted, however, that such terms even in Sufism itself vary in their implications. Those in the works attributed to al-Ḥallâj may differ from those in the works of Ibn 'Arabî. It is not clear what the author of the *K. ar-Rushd* implies, e.g., by the term

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naqîb, mentioning the four *naqîbs* accompanying the Prophet, of whom one is his *waṣî*, and the greatest of all.

We have edited this text from two manuscript copies, one (denoted with *alif*) dated 1933, and the other, denoted with *bâ*, dated 1944. The latter belongs to Prof. A.A.A. Fyzee. Both copies are full of errors which not rarely render the text unintelligible.

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فصل من كتاب الرشد والهداية

اعلم رحمك الله أن « اسم الله » سبعة أحرف ، يتفرع منها أربعة عشر ، جمعت التسابيع الثلاثة أيضاً ، لأن الاسم والمعنى جامعان لكل شيء ، وكذلك « لسان ، أذن » سبعة أحرف ، يتفرع منها الأربعة عشر ، فجمعت التسابيع ، لأن اللسان والأذن يجمعان كل حديث .

وإنه ، أول القرآن « بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم » فـ « بسم الله » سبعة أحرف يتفرع منها اثنا عشر ، ويتلوها اثنا عشر حروف « الرحمن الرحيم » والسورة سورة الحمد ، وهي سبع آيات ، فالسبع التي هي « بسم الله » تدل على النطقاء السبعة ، ويتفرع منها اثنا عشر تدل على أن لكل [1] ناطق اثني عشر نقيباً ، ثم الاثنا عشر التي هي « الرحمن الرحيم » يتفرع منها تسعة عشر ، فدل ذلك على أن النطقاء يتفرع منهم بعد كل ناطق سبعة أئمـــة واثنا عشر حجة فذلك تسعة عشر [2] .

والسبع آيات التي هي سورة الحمد أمثال [3] لمراتب الدين السبع ، فسورة الحمد يستفتح بها كتاب الله ، كذلك مراتب الدين يستفتح بها أبواب علم دين الله .

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(١) ا - كل (٢) من العجيب أن يذهب الكاتب الى أنه يتفرع بعد كل ناطق سبعة أئمة واثنا عشر حجة فقط وذلك يخالف المعروف فى مراتب الدعوة الاسماعيلية

(٣) فى النسختين : أمثالا

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وفى القرآن أحرف من حروف المعجم فى أوائل السور ليس لها ظاهر معناها [كما فى] (١) أول سورة البقرة (٢) وشبهها ، فالألف فيها تدل (٣) على الناطق ، واللام على الوصى ، والميم على الإمام ، هذا فيما كان أوله « الم » .

وأول سورة الأعراف «المص» فالألف تدل على الناطق ، واللام على الوصى ، والميم على الإمام المتم(٤) ، والصاد على حجة الإمام . وأول سورة يونس « الر » فالالف واللام يدلان على الناطق والوصى (٥) ، والراء تدل على الإمام المتم . وكذلك ما كان أوله الراء . وأول سورة الرعد « المر » (٦) . . . . . (٧) لأن العجمتين فوق القاف ظاهرتان(٨) . والقاف والنون أيضاً دلائل النطقاء والأئمة ، والعجمة التى فوق النون واحدة مثل المؤمن ، لأنه يظهر الولاية وحدها ، وهى ظاهر على الإمام ، ولا يتكلم المؤمن بشىء من باطن علمه ، وكذلك العجمة فوق ظاهرها مستقرها النون ، لأن النون المستور وهو الباطن . فهذه دلالتها فإذا اجتمعت المعجمات(٩) الخمس مع الأحرف الأربعة عشر صارت تسعة عشر ، فصارت فيها دلالة أخرى على التسعة عشر : الأئمة السبعة والحجج الاثنى عشر .

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(١) حذفت فى النسختين واضطررنا لاضافتها لاستقامة المعنى (٢) ا : البقر
(٣) سقطت فى ب (٤) سقطت فى ب (٥) فى النسختين « الوصى والامام » (٦) فى ب : ولام يدلان (٧) سقط فى النسختين أكثر من جملة
(٨) ب : ظاهرتان من فوق (٩) رسمت فى ب : التمات ويخيل الى أنه يقصد بالمعجمات غير المعنى المعروف عن الحروف المعجمة .

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وعدد سور القرآن مائة وأربع عشرة سورة ففيها دلالة ، وذلك أنه إذا قسم هذا العدد . . . . . (١) آخر كل حرف تسع عشر ، وقابلها . . . . . (١) العدد كانت تثبت(٢) آخر فذلك يدل [على](٣) الأئمة المتمين والحجج الاثنى عشر ، لأنه يكون فى كل وقت بين كل مكان ناطقان مقاماتهم ، فالوقت الذى بين محمد والمهدى هو الوقت السادس ، ومحمد هو الناطق السادس ، والقرآن نزل عليه فدل عدد السور فى الأوقات الستة بين النطقاء السبعة على الأئمة السبعة والحجج الاثنى عشر ، وفى سور القرآن دلالة أيضاً ، وذلك أن بين كل ناطق (و) (٤) ناطق سبعة أئمة متمين .

وكذلك القرآن فأول(٥) السور دلالة على محمد لأنه الناطق بها ، ثم بعدها سبع سور وبعد السبع ذكر محمد . وكذلك بعد كل سبع إلى آخر القرآن . فالسبع من السور تدل (٦) بعددها على تمام السبعة المتمين بين الناطقين ، ويدل بما فيها على سابع النطقاء الذى يأتى بفرض من الله سبحانه وأمر حادث ، ففى كل سبع من السّور التى فيها ذكر فرض وأمر حادث يدل على الناطق الذى بعد محمد (صلعم وآله) ففيها دلالتان ، والذكر محمد صلى الله عليه وآله لأنه [. . . . .] (٧) مقامه ومقام من قبله من النطقاء ، وعلى

(١) سقط فى النسختين (٢) ب : سبب . ولكثرة السقطات لم يستقم معنى الجملة (٣) سقطت فى النسختين (٤) فى ا ، ب : الى (٥) فى ا ، ب : أول (٦) فى ا ، ب : يدل (٧) بياض فى النسختين مقدار كلمتين ربما كانتا « يدل على »

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[الناطق][1] الذى بعده من ولده ؛ والسبعة الأئمة من ولده أيضاً كما أن الأئمة فيما بين النطقاء الذين [. . .][2] والقرآن كتابه الذى نطق به ؛ ودعا إلى نفسه وإلى من قبله وبعده ، فصارت الدلالة فى العدد ترجع إليه ؛ ويستأنف من ذكره (صلعم) : فأول سورة[3] « الحمد » فهى دلالة على محمد ؛ لأنها تسمى أم الكتاب الذى أنزل عليه ؛ وما دل على محمد فهو يدل على من قبله من النطقاء ؛ ثم ست سور أولها البقرة ؛ والسابعة الأنفال ففيها فرض الأنفال ، فدلت على فرض السبعة المتممين بعددها ودلت على[4] فرض سابع النطقاء بذكر الفرض الذى فيها أنه يأتى بفرض ؛ ثم يستأنف العدد بعد سورة الأنفال ؛ فبعدها سورة « براءة »[5] أولها « براءة من الله ورسوله » فهو محمد (صلعم) ؛ ثم بعد سورة براءة ست سور والسابعة سورة النحل « أتى أمر الله فلا تستعجلوه » فدلت على تمام السبعة المتممين بالعدد ، ودلت على سابع النطقاء ؛ يقول إنه أتى أمر الله فلا تستعجلوه وهو وقت ظهوره . ويستأنف[6] العدد بعد سورة النحل ؛ وبعدها سورة [الإسراء][7] أولها « سبحان الذى أسرى بعبده ليلا » وهو محمد ؛ ثم بعدها ست سور والسابعة سورة النور ؛ أولها « سورة أنزلناها وفرضناها » فدلت على السبعة المتممين ؛ ودلت على سابع النطقاء بما فيها من ذكر العذاب الأدنى ، وذكر الفتح ؛ ثم يستأنف العدد

(١) فى ا ، ب : الباطن (٢) سقطت فى ا ، ب جملة أو أكثر (٣) فى ا و ب : سور (٤) ب : على سابع (٥) وهى أيضاً سورة التوبة (٦) فى ا : يسابق (٧) فى ا ، ب سورة بنى اسرائيل

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بعد سورة النور . فبعدها سورة الفرقان أولها « تبارك الذى نزّل الفرقان على عبده ليكون للعالمين نذيرا » فهو محمد (صلعم) . ثم بعد سورة الفرقان ست سور ، والسابعة سورة السجدة[1] ، وفيها ذكر القيامة فدلت على تمام السبعة المتمين بالعدد ، وكذلك على سابع النطقاء بذكر القيامة ؛ [ويستأنف العدد][2] بعد سورة السجدة[1] فبعدها سورة الاحزاب أولها « يا أيها النبى اتق الله » فهو محمد (صلعم) ثم بعد سورة الأحزاب ست سور والسابعة سورة غافر[3] وهى أول الحواميم ، وفيها ذكر التناد ويوم التـــلاق[4] ، وفيها « وأنذرهم يوم الآزفة » وهـذا كله وقت ظهور سابع النطقاء ، فدلت على تمام السبعة المتمين بالعدد ، ودلت على سابع النطقاء ؛ وبعدها سورة [حم السجدة][5] فى أولها « كتاب فصلت آياته قرآنا عربياً » فباطن القرآن والـكتاب أنه من ناطق عربى « فصلت آياته قرآنا عربيا لقوم » رتبت مراتب الأئمة من ولده « قرآنا عربياً لقوم يعلمون » الذين علموا أبنية أمر الله فى الأئمة بعد الرسل ؛ ثم قال « بشيراً ونذيراً[6] » إمام بعد إمام مبشرين ومنذرين ، وظاهر القرآن أنه الـكتاب الذى نزل على محمد ، وفيها « ما يقال لك إلا ما قد قيل للرسل من قبلك » فهذا ذكر محمد ومخاطبته عليه السلام ، وفيها « وقال الذين كفروا لا تسمعوا

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(١) فى ا ، ب : الجزء (٢) ما بين القوسين سقط فى ا (٣) فى ا ، ب : المؤمن (٤) ا ، ب : يوم الاسود !!! (٥) هكذا : النسختين وفى مصحف مصر الرسمى سورة « فصلت » (٦) ا : يسير ويدبر

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لهذا القرآن » [وهو خصوص هذا الرسول][1] ؛ ثم بعد [حم السجدة] ست سور والسابعة سورة الفتح أولها « إنا فتحنا لك فتحاً مبينا » إن الله يفتح على المؤمنين بظهور سابع النطقاء ، وعلى أهل بيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ؛ ثم يستأنف العدد بعد سورة الفتح فبعدها سورة الحجرات وأولها « يا أيها الذين آمنوا لا تقدموا بين يدى الله ورسوله » وهو محمد ؛ وبعدها ست سور والسابعة سورة الواقعة [وبما ذكر عند وقوعها][2] وهو وقت ظهور سابع النطقاء ؛ ثم يستأنف العدد فبعدها سورة الحديد وفيها « وهو الذى يُنَزِّل على عبده آيات بينات » فهو محمد ، وفيها « يا أيها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله وآمنوا برسوله يؤتكم كفلين من رحمته » فرسول الله محمد ، وقوله « كفلين » للذين آمنوا بمحمد بعث الله فيهم ناطقين من رسله لأن الرحمة فى التأويل : الرسل فمحمد رسول الله ، والناطق الثانى من ولده وهو المهدى سابع النطقاء وكذلك قوله « كفلين من رحمته » أيضا سهمين وحظين وما أشبه ذلك لأن الكفل السهم والقسم والحظ ، « ويجعل لكم نورا تمشون به » يعنى نور الدعوة الحق الباطن ؛ وعهدا يدعوه به على ما تقدم ذكره[3] وشرحه وبيانه ، ويغفر لكم بالعهود التى تطهركم[4] « والله غفور رحيم » معناه على ما تقدم الشرح فيه ؛ ثم بعد سورة الحديد ست سور ، والسابعة سورة التغابن [ويوم التغابن يوم القيامة فدلت على السبعة

(١) هكذا فى ا ، ب ولعل الصواب وهو مخصوص بهذا الرسول (٢) هكذا فى النسختين ولعلك تلاحظ ضعف تعبير الكاتب وأن عربيته ليست سليمة (٣) سقطت فى ا (٤) ا : يطهرهم

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المتمين بالعدد ؛ ودلت على سابع النطقاء بذكر[1] يوم القيامة ؛ ثم بعد سورة التغابن ؛ سورة الطلاق أولها « يا أيها النبي إذا طلقتم النساء فطلقوهن لعدتهن » فيها ذكر محمد ؛ ثم بعد سورة الطلاق ست سور والسابعة سورة][2] الجن وفيها « حتى إذا رأوا ما يوعدون فسيعلمون من أضعف ناصراً وأقل عدداً ؛ قل إن أدرى أقريب ما توعدون أم يجعل له ربى أمداً » فقوله « ما توعدون » فهو وقت ظهور سابع النطقاء ، وهو الساعة ؛ وقال « وما يدريك لعل الساعة قريب »[3] فدلت سورة الجن على السبعة المتمين بالعدد ؛ ودلت على سابع النطقاء بما فيها ؛ ثم بعد سورة الجن سورة المزمل وهو مخاطبة لمحمد (صلعم) ؛ ثم بعدها ست سور والسابعة « عبس وتولى » وفيها « فإذا جاءت الصاخة » وهو وقت ظهور سابع النطقاء ، فدلت على السبعة المتمين بالعدد ؛ ودلت على سابع النطقاء ؛ بذكر الصاخة وهو وقت الظهور ؛ ثم بعد سورة عبس ، سورة « إذا الشمس كورت » والشمس دليل على الناطق وهو محمد ؛ ثم بعدها ست سور والسابعة[4] سورة الغاشية أولها « هل أتاك حديث الغاشية » وهو وقت ظهور سابع النطقاء [فدلت على تمام السبعة المتمين بالعدد ؛ ودلت على سابع النطقاء][5] بذكر الغاشية وقت ظهوره ؛ ثم سورة الفجر وفيها مخاطبة محمد (صلعم) بقوله « ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بعاد » والفجر دليل

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(١) ب : ويذكر (٢) ما بين هذين القوسين سقط فى ا (٣) سورة الشورى ٤٢/١٧ (٤) سقطت فى ا ، ب (٥) ما بين هذين القوسين سقط فى ا

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على الناطق[1] فدل فى هذه السورة على محمد ؛ ثم بعد سورة الفجر ست سور والسابعة « اقرأ باسم ربك الذى خلق » فأولهـــا فرض وأمر قوله « اقرأ باسم ربك الذى خلق » فدلت على تمام السبعة المتمين بالعدد ، ودلت على سابع النطقاء بالفرض والأمر الحادث المبتدأ ؛ ثم بعدها سورة « إنا أنزلناه فى ليلة القدر » وما أدراك ما ليلة القدر » فهو ما أنزل على محمد (صلعم) ثم بعدها ست سور والسابعة سورة الحطمة[2] وفيها « نار الله الموقدة التى تطلع على الأفئدة » [وهو وقت ظهور سابع النطقاء بذكر الحطمة ، وهو وقت ظهوره][3] ثم سورة الفيل وأولها « ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بأصحاب الفيل » وهو مخاطبة لمحمد (صلعم) ثم بعـــد سورة الفيل ست سور[4] والسابعة[5] سورة الإخلاص « قل هو الله أحد » فهى كما قيل[6] كمال التوحيد وقت ظهور سابع النطقاء . فدلت على تمام السبعة المتمين بالعدد ، ودلت على سابع النطقاء بكمال التوحيد وكمال الدين ، وهو وقت ظهوره . وكملت التسابيع من عدد السور ودلالتها على السبعة المتمين والسبعة النطقاء ، وبقى سورتان وهما الفلق وسورة الناس ؛ فزدنا هاتين السورتين مع التسابيع عليهم فـ « قل أعوذ برب الفلق » تدل على النطقاء لأن الفلق طلوع الضبح أفق السماء ؛ و « قل أعوذ برب الناس » تدل على حـد

(١) ا ، ب : ناطق (٢) ا : الحاطمة (٣) هكذا فى النسختين ويلاحظ اضطراب النص وربما كان ضعف تعبير المؤلف هو سبب هذا الاضطراب الكثير فى هذا الكتاب (٤) سقطت فى ا (٥) ا : ثم بعد بخمسة سور (٦) فى ا ، ب : قال

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المتمين لأن حد الناس من بساط الأرض ، وهو من(١) الحد الثانى فصحت هذه الدلالة فى تأليف سور القرآن وعددها .

فإذا حسبت التى(٢) فيها ذكر محمد (صلعم) فهى دلالة النطقاء وهى أربع عشرة سورة [.... التى تتم .....](٣) محمد تدل على السبعة المتمين فهى أيضاً أربع عشرة سورة ، فسور النطقاء التى(٤) هى لهم مفردة تدل عليهم ، وسور المتمين تدل عليهم بتمام السبع ، وفيها ذكر سابع النطقاء ففيها دلالتان ، يدل ذلك على أن لكل ناطق شريعة لم يشرعها من قبله ، وأن كل(٥) متم انما يتم شريعة ناطق قبله ، فصار لكل ناطق دلالة سورتين ، ولكل متم دلالة سورتين لأنها اربع عشرة سورة للنطقاء ومثلها للمتمين ، فدل ذلك على أنه لابد لكل ناطق من وصى يكمل به مقامه ، وأن(٦) لكل متم من حجة يكمل به مقامه(٧) لأن بذية مقام الدين(٨) للنطقاء . والمتمون على سبعة كما تقدم به الذكر . فإذا اجتمعت الأربع عشرة سورة دلائل النطقاء ومثلها المتمين تصير(٩) ثمان وعشرين سورة على عدد حروف ا ب ت ث التى هى أصل الكلام كله ، وتبقى(١٠) من السور سورتان بعد هذه الدلائل ، وهى من الأحرف حرفان مزدوجان وهما(١١) اللام والألف(١٢) ، فالحرفان مثل السورتين لرجوع الحرفين مع الحروف

(١) سقطت فى ا (٢) ا : الذى (٣) هكذا فى النسختين (٤) ا ، ب : الذى (٥) ا ، ب : لكل (٦) ا ، ب : ولأن (٧) ا : مقام (٨) ا ، ب : الذين (٩) ا : بصر (١٠) ا : وهى (١١) ا : هو (١٢) ا : التى

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فى الكلام وكمثل رجوع السورتين مع السور فى الدلالة على ما تقدم ذكره ؛ والسورتان « الفلق » و « الناس » وهما تدلان على الحدين ، وقد ذكر أصحاب الحدين[1] فى السور السابقة[2] ، والحرفان المزدوجان لام وألف فى الثمانية وعشرين من الأحرف ، والثمانية وعشرون حرفا تدل على السبعة النطقاء ، والسبعة الأوصياء ، ومراتب الدين[3] السبع التى فى كل عصر والسبعة الأئمة المتممين ، فذلك ثمانية وعشرون ، والحرفان المزدوجان وهما مثل محمد وعلى لأن ألف تدل على النطقاء فى أوائل السور ، واللام على الأوصياء وقد تقدم ذكر اللام والألف فى عدد الحروف ، وقد تقدم ذكر محمد فى عدد النطقاء والأوصياء ، [والياء فى آخر اسم[4]] المهدى وهو آخر الأئمة والنطقاء ، وهى آخر الحروف كلها [وصارت الياء تجرى الى خلف[5]] دلالة على أنه يصدق بكل ما قبله من الشرائع . ولم تكن بعده شريعة يشير إليها كما كان[6] النطقاء يشير[7] بعض إلى بعض ، كما أشار موسى لعيسى « يأتيكم[8] من بعدى المسيح » واليهود تنتظر المسيح إلى اليوم ، ويشير عيسى لمحمد كما قال فى القرآن « ومبشراً برسول يأتى من بعدى اسمه أحمد » وكذلك محمد بشر بالمهدى علينا منه الرحمة ، فدل على أن المهدى يختم الرتبتين رتبة الرسالة ومرتبة

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(١) ا : الحدر (٢) ا ، ب : السابع (٣) ا : مراسا لدين (٤) ا : والثانى اسم أخر (٥) ا : الياء بجر الى جلود ، فى ب : الياء تجر الى خلف (٦) ا : كانت (٧) ا : ليشير (٨) ا : ما حكم من بعد

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الوصاية[1]. وهو الختام . والختام فوق المختوم ، وكذلك المهدى نهاية الرتبتين وهو خاتمهما ؛ وأيضاً فإن الياء فى حساب الجمل على حروف أبجد[2] على العشرة[3] وسابع النطقاء وهو العاشر[4] من محمد وعلى ، والسبعة الائمة[5] من ذريتهما متمون . وهو العاشر وهو سابع النطقاء ، وهو الثامن بعد الائمة المتمين ؛ وفى ذلك قول الله سبحانه « سبع ليال وثمانية أيام » فالليالى مما يدل على الأوصياء . والأيام على النطقاء لأن الليلة تكون بعد زوال اليوم ، وليس يكون بعد المهدى تأويل يقوم به وصى ، وليس بعد ليله ناطق ؛ قال الله سبحانه « ثم شققنا الأرض شقاً » فالأرض الوصى ، ثم قال « فأنبتنا فيها حباً وعنباً وقضباً وزيتوناً ونخلا وحدائق غلباً وفاكهة وأباً » ومعنى الأب فى على وولده سبعة أئمة والثامن وهو المهدى سابع النطقاء .

فالمهدى اسم محمد فله اسمان كل واحد منهما أربعة أحرف [وأحد اسميه دال][6] وآخر الثانى ياء ؛ والدال وهو آخر اسم محمد وهو رسول الله . والياء وهو آخر اسم على[7] يدل على أنه يحيط بجميع[8] التنزيل الذى جاء به محمد ، وجميع التأويل الذى جاء به على ، وهذا دليل على إحاطته بالجميع ؛ آخر[9] اسمه آخر[10] الحروف ، وآخر الشىء غايته ، وأحاط بغاية[11] علمها كما أحاط اسمه بغاية الاسماء ؛

(١) ا : الوصى (٢) ا : الى جاد (٣) سقطت فى ا (٤) ا : الغافر
(٥) سقطت فى ب (٦) هكذا فى النسختين ولعل الصواب : وأحد اسميه آخره دال (٧) ا : عيسى (٨) ا : بجمع (٩) ا : أحد (١٠) ا : لأحد
(١١) ا : بعامة

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وأيضاً[1] الحرف المزدوج الذى هو لام وألف يدل على محمد وعلى فى ولايته[2] ، وعلى إحاطته بحد[3] محمد فى الرسالة ، وحد على فى الوصاية وأيضاً فى الحروف اسماء من قبله فى[4] النطقاء ينتهى إلى خمسة وعشرين حرفا فيبقى[5] من الثمانية وعشرين ثلاثة[6] أحرف أسماء الأوصياء ينتهى إلى الأربعة وعشرين حرفاً من الثمانية وعشرين فيبقى منها أربعة و قد تقدم الذكر بأن الاربعة حد النطقاء وأن الثلاثة حد الأوصياء ، وأن مقام دين الله حرفاً فى كل عصر وزمان تسعة حدود ولابد من تمامها ، فأربعة للناطق ولابد له من الوصى ، كما لابد للأربعة من الثلاثة [فتم بها[7]] السبعة .

تم الفصل وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين وسلم تسليما

* * *

وقوله «وإذا بدلنا آية مكان آية» يعنى إماماً مكان إمام ، فهم الابدال هم وحججهم ودعاتهم ، يبدل الله لدينه إماماً بعد إمام ، وقوله «يسألونك عن الساعة أيان مرساها قل إنما علمها عند ربى[8] لا يُجَلِّيها لوقتها إلا هو ثقلت فى السموات والارض لا تأتيكم الا بغتة الآية» وقال سبحانه : «يسألك الناس عن الساعة ، قل إنما علمها عند الله وما يدريك لعل الساعة تكون قريباً» وقال «يسألونك عن الساعة

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(١) ا : انضاف (٢) ا : ولادته (٣) سقطت فى ا (٤) هكذا فى النسختين ولعل الاصوب (من) (٥) ا : نسعى (٦) سقطت فى ا (٧) ا : فهم (٨) ا ، ب : عند ربى (فى كتاب) لا يجليها .. الخ

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أيان مُرْساها فيم أنت من ذكراها . . . إلى آخر السورة » فالساعة ظهور المهدى الناطق سابع النطقاء ، فكتم الله وقت ظهوره عن نبيه وعن الناس جميعاً وأكد (١) فى كتابه هذا التأكيد على نبيه لأنها سنة (٢) فيمن كان قبله من النطقاء ، أن لا يظهر على الوقت الذى بعثهم (٣) فيه أحداً (٤) . وقوله « ثقلت » فى الأئمة والحجج ولا يعلمون وقت ظهوره ولا يأتى الناس إلا بغتة . فبهذا الوجه (٥) صارت الأيام السبعة تدور بأحكام الكواكب السبعة والأفلاك بالله . والأئمة يقومون بشرائع النطقاء السبعة . ومراتب الأئمة صارت الليالى (٦) تدل على مراتب الحجج ، وصار (٧) النهار مثلا للإمام ، والليل (٨) للحجة ، فيها دليل ، « ليل نهار » سبعة أحرف كما إمام وحجة سبعة (٩) أحرف ، وصارت ليلة أربعة أحرف على أحرف الإمام ، ويوم (١٠) بعدها ثلاثة (١١) أحرف على الحجة فدل ذلك على أن الحجة يصير إماماً بعد إمامه وقبل الإمام الذى بعده ، وأن الإمام الذى بعده يكون حجة له قبل أن يكون إماماً ، لأن اليوم من النهار وهو مثل الإمام (١٢) ، والأحرف الثلاثة [الحجة فدلت الاحرف الثلاثة] (١٣) أنه يكون حجة قبل أن يكون إماماً ، وليل (١٤) ثلاثة مثل الحجة والاحرف الأربعة للإمام ، فدلت عليه الأحرف الأربعة أنه يكون

(١) ا : وكل (٢) ا : سنة نبيه (٣) ا : لعنهم (٤) ب : واحدا
(٥) ا : فهذا [الوقت] الوُجه (٦) ب : بالليل (٧) ا : صارت
(٨) ا : حجة الليل (٩) سقطت فى ا (١٠) ا : قوم (١١) ا : يليه (١٢) ا : الايام (١٣) سقطت فى ا (١٤) ب : الليل وسقطت فى ا

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فيما بعد إذ كان حجته ؛ وعلى هذا تدل الأحرف السبعة ؛ ومثال ذلك أنه يقع التأنيث (١) فى التسمية على السنة والشمس وهما أمثال الإمام ، ويقع التذكير فى التسمية على الشهر والقمر ؛ وهما أمثال الحجة ؛ والنهار مثل الرسول الناطق ؛ والليل مثل الإمام المتم ؛ وصار النهار مثلا أيضاً يدل على أن النهار مثل الإمام المتم ، والليل مثل الحجة . وذلك أن النهار اثنتا عشرة ساعة تدل على [نور الشمس ؛ والليل اثنتا عشرة ساعة تدل على (٢)] ضوء القمر ؛ وكذلك [للرسول الناطق](٢) اثنا عشر نقيباً يدعون إلى علم الرسول الظاهر ؛ الذى هو التنزيل ؛ [وهو](٣) نور الشمس ومثل هذا الإمام المتم ، والاثناعشر حجة يدعون إلى علم المتم الباطن الذى هو التأويل وهو القمر ؛ مثله بالنهار التنزيل والليل التأويل ؛ والرسول لا ينطق بالتأويل ؛ ولا يظهره ؛ [وإنما يعمله نقيبه الأكبر](٤) الذى هو حجته ووصيه ؛ والوصى الذى لا يتكلم بالتأويل إنما يلقيه إلى حجته فيتكلم به الحجة ويدعو إليه ؛ والحجج يقتبسون علم الباطن ؛ فمن هنا صار النهار والليل مثل الإمام والحجة ؛ وكذلك السنة على هذا ؛ إن الشمس وأيامها على التسابيع فهى مثل الأئمة(٥) السبعة ؛ والسبعة دلائل الأئمة . ولأن الشمس مثل الإمام ؛ والشهور اثناعشر على مدار القمر فهى أمثال الحجج لأنها من الاثنى عشر ؛ والاثناعشر

(١) ا : اليأس (٢) سقطت فى ا (٣) الزيادة من عندنا لاستقامة المعنى
(٤) ا : وانما تعلمه نفسه أكبر (٦) ا : الامام

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دليل الحجة ، والقمر مثل الحجة . والأيام الأربعة[1] بعد التسابيع من أيام السنة إشارة إلى الأربعة النجوم الحرم ، والنجوم الأربعة الحرم هى الدليل على أربعة نقباء الرسول ؛ وحجج الإمام لهم درجات هى أرفع من درجات الآخرين ، قال الله سبحانه « إن عدة الشهور عند الله اثناعشر شهراً » يعنى النقباء والحجج « يوم خلق السموات والأرض » يوم بعث النطقاء ؛ [وإقامة النطقاء للأوصياء][2] « منها أربعة حرم » من النقباء أربعة ودرجاتهم أرفع . ثم قال « ذلك الدين القيم فلا تظلموا فيهن أنفسكم » يعنى ذلك الدين القيم الذى يرتضيه ويقيم لهم ، فلا تظلموا فى [انكارها انفسكم][3] ، فإن من أنكر أولياء الله وتوالى غيرهم فقد ظلم نفسه . وحدود الله مقامات الرسل والأوصياء والائمة والحجج وما يقيمونه من فرائض الله وسننه فمن تعدى أمر الله فيهم فقد ظلم نفسه . وكذلك المنازل من النجوم ثمانية وعشرون منزلا ، وهى على التسابيع من كل سبعة واحد ، أحدهم النقيب الأكبر الذى يكون وصى الرسول ، فعلمه يصل[4] إليه دون الثلاثة ، ومثل ذلك أركان[5] الكعبة الأربعة الجهات واحد منها مكشوف فيلمس والثلاثة مستور ، وكذلك الجهات الأربع واحدة منها قبلة يصلى إليها وحدها دون الجهات الثلاث [المشرق والمغرب والشمال والجنوب][6] . وكذلك ذكر الله فى

(١) ا الامام (٢) ب : وأقام النطقاء للأوصياء . والنطقاء سقطت فى ا
(٣) ا : أبكارها ولا أنفسكم (٤) ا : يفصل ، (ب) يوصل (٥) ا : له كان
(٦) هكذا فى النسختين ونلاحظ اضطراب النص ولعل الأصوب أن يأتى ما بين القوسين عقب قوله : كذلك الجهات الأربع .

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كتابه [من الرياح الأربع][1] فقال جل اسمه « إذ أرسلنا عليهم الريح العقيم » وقال « ومن آياته أن يرسل الرياح مبشرات » وقال « وهو الذى يرسل الرياح بشرا بين يدى رحمته » فهذه أربع رياح ، فالعقيم مثل النقيب[2] الذى يحمل العلم ولا يفيده[3] ولا يتكلم به لأنه قال « لواقح » واللواقح لا يلقح منها الرياح المبشرات ، مثل النقيب الذى يتكلم بظاهر علم الرسول فيبشر به كما يبشر به الرسول ؛ قال الله سبحانه لرسوله (صلعم) « إنا أرسلناك شاهداً ومبشراً ونذيراً » فالرسول يبشر بظاهر التنزيل ، والرياح التى يرسلها « بشرا بين يدى رحمته » مثل النقيب الأكبر الذى هو أقربهم إلى الرسول ، والرحمة الرسول ، قال الله سبحانه « وما أرسلناك إلا رحمة للعالمين » فالرحمة الرسول ، ورياح البشرا الوصى ينشر[4] ما طوى الرسول على المؤمنين من علم التأويل بعده وفى حياته ، وهو ناصره والمؤدى لأمره ؛ والدليل على أن واحداً من أربعة هو المؤدى لعلم الرسول دون الثلاثة قول الله تعالى فى هذه الرياح التى ذكرها قوله فى الريح العقيم « ما تذر من شىء أتت عليه إلا جعلته كالرميم » فدل بهذا أن هذا النقيب (من)[5] الثلاثة يميت[6] بعقاب الرسول ظاهراً ولا يحيى بعلمه الباطن ، قال جل اسمه « وأرسلنا الرياح لواقح فأنزلنا من السماء

(١) هكذا فى النسختين ولعل الصواب من الرياح أربعا (٢) ا : سل البعير (٣) ا : يصده (٤) ا : سر (٥) هكذا فى النسختين ولعل الصواب دون (٦) سقطت فى ا

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ماء فاسقيناكموه وما أنتم له بخازنين » فالماء العلم ؛ والسماء الرسول ، ولم يقل أنزلنا من الرياح اللواقح ؛ لأنها لا تلقح غيرها ؛ فدل على أن العلم ينزل من السماء إلى المؤمنين على غير يدى هذا النقيب(١) ؛ وقال « ومن آياته أن يرسل الرياح مبشرات وليذيقكم من رحمته ولتجرى الفلك بأمره » فدل على أن هذا النقيب يبشر(٢) ويتكلم بظاهر علم الرسول ؛ وقال « ليذيقكم من رحمته » ولم يقل ليذيقكم من هذه الرياح المبشرات ، والرحمة(٣) الرسول ؛ فدل على أن علم الرسول ينال على يدى غير هذا النقيب من الثلاثة ؛ « ولتجرى الفلك بأمره » فالفلك غير هؤلاء الثلاثة ؛ وهو مثل النقيب الرابع تجرى بأمره الرسول يدعو بباطن علمه ؛ وقال « وهو الذى يرسل الرياح بشرا بين يدى رحمته ؛ إلى آخر الآية » « لعلكم تذكرون » فبين [بهذا البشرا](٤) من الرياح نقل السحاب الثقال ؛ والسحاب الثقال الدعاة ، والبلد الميت [هو] البلد الذى أهله على علم الظاهر ليس فيه حياة تدعوه للحق ؛ وقوله « فأنزلنا به الماء » فالماء علم الدين « وأخرجنا به من كل الثمرات » من يدخل فى الدعوة من المؤمنين من كل موضع وأهل بيت فى ذلك البلد هم الثمرات بالعلم « كذلك يخرج الموتى » معناه يخرج الجهال من موت الجهل « لعلكم تذكرون » يعنى ترون [نبات الشجر](٥) بالماء فى الظاهر وتذكرون به بيان المؤمن من علم

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(١) ا : السبب (٢) ا : للسر (٣) سقطت فى ا (٤) ا ، ب : بهذا البر (٥) ب : بيان السحاب

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الدين وخروجهم من الجهل كما يخرج الثمرات والنبات من التراب ؛ والبشرا الوصى فهو الذى [ينبعث الدعاة على أيديهم] (١) تكون الحياة ، قال الله تعالى « السحاب المسخر بين السماء والأرض » من الإمام والحجة المسخر المطيع ؛ العالم يدعو إلى علم الإمام الظاهر وعلم الحجة الباطن ؛ ونزول الغيث من السحاب مثل العلم الذى يسمع من الدعاة [فينبت النبات كما ينبت] (٢) المؤمن بعلم الدين .

[والبرق مثل المكالب (٣) ، والبرق يلوح بضوئه ، لا يستقيم للطالب لأنه لا يكشف له علم الباطن ؛ وسرعة البرق سرعة امساك المكالب إذا عرف أن الحق عنده ، وكسر الباطل ، والرعد مثل الطالب قد كسر عليه الطلب فإنه لا يسمع صوت الرعد إلا بعد ما يرى ضوء البرق] (٤) . . قوله « هو الذى يريكم البرق خوفاً وطمعاً وينشىء السحاب الثقال . . . إلى قوله « فى ضلال » قوله يريكم البرق (٥) يعنى المكالب (٦) بالحق لأهل الظاهر فيخرجهم من عقاب الجهل ؛ وقوله « ينشىء السحاب الثقال » وهى الدعاة الذين يحملون كنوز العلم « ويسبح الرعد » يعنى الطالب « بحمده » « والملائكة من خيفته » يعنى بالملائكة الحجج ، وإنما سماهم ملائكة بما ملكتهم الائمة من علم

(١) هكذا فى النسختين ولعل الصواب : يبعث الدعاة وعلى أيديهم (٢) ا : فسب البيان كما سب (٣) فى النسختين : المخاب (٤) ما بين القوسين : كذا فى النسختين ولكن النص مضطرب وقد يكون موقعه بعد الآية التى تليه (٥) ا : يريقكم (٦) المكاب فى ا ، ب : المكاب ، والمكالب هو الداعى الذي يشكك الناس فى عقيدتهم ويستدرجهم إلى عقيدته دون أن يبيح لهم بشىء منها إنما يناظر أضداده ويجادلهم فى مذهبهم حتى يشكوا فيه ومرتبته أدنى مرتبة الحدود الجسمانية

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الدين والهداية ، والصواعق قوله « وخر موسى صعقاً » يعنى مذعناً منقطع الكلام والجواب ؛ ومعنى « كباسط كفيه إلى الماء ليبلغ فاه وما هو ببالغه » يعنى طلب علمائهم بالباطن وهو الحياة ولن يقدروا عليه وهو بعيد منهم[1] وقوله « يرسل الرياح فتثير سحاباً فيبسطه فى السماء كيف يشاء » . . الى قوله « وهو على كل شيء قدير » قوله « يرسل الرياح فتثير سحاباً فيبسطه » فى باطن علم الرسول كيف يشاء ويجعله كسفاً يعنى يرتب الدعاة والأبواب والحجج يفرقهم فى النواحى ، والكسف الفرق والقطع . . « فترى الودق يخرج من خلاله » — يعنى علم التأويل يخرج ويسمع من الدعاة والابواب فيكلمون به كلهم فصارت قسمة[2] بينهم ، « فإذا أصاب به من يشاء من عباده فإذا هم يستبشرون » . الآية . . إلى لمبلسين — معنى متحيرين لا يعرفون علم الحق ولاسبيل النجاة ، « فانظر إلى آثار رحمة الله » وأثر محمد ومن بعده وهى ثلاثة أحرف « أثر » « ويحيي الأرض من موتها » ثلاثة أحرف معناه يقيم الحجج بالدعاة بعد سكوتهم[3] فيحيي بهم من أجابهم[4] بعد موت الجهل ، إذ ذلك لمحيي الموتى ومن موت الجهل بحياة العلم كما ذكر فى القرآن الرحمة هى الرسول (صلعم) قوله جل اسمه « وما أرسلناك إلا رحمة للعالمين » . .

تأويل الفضل[5] النقيب وهو أيضاً دعوة الباطن وهو الوصى والفضل الوصى ، والنعمة الرسول فذلك اسماؤهما فى الباطن حيث

(١) ا ، ب : منه (٢) ا : نسمة (٣) ا : يكونهم (٤) ا : امامهم
(٥) ب : الفلك

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كانت فى كتاب الله كما قال الله لنبيه محمد (صلعم) « وأما بنعمة ربك فحدث » يعنى بالرسول الناطق الذى بعدك من ولدك ، وقال « وآخرون يضربون فى الأرض يبتغون من فضل الله » يبتغون علم الحجج من علم الوصى للتأويل ؛ وفضل الله سبعة أحرف كما رسول ووصى ، وقوله « ولا تحسبن الذين قتلوا فى سبيل الله أمواتا بل أحياء عند ربهم يرزقون » إلى قوله « من خلفهم » قوله : لا تحسبن الذين[1] ظفر عليهم المنافقون والجاحدون وكسروا عليهم فى اتباع سبيل الله الذى هو الوصى أمواتا بل[2] أحياء بعلم الهدى عند وليهم يرزقون يسمعون الحكمة « فرحين بما آتاهم الله من فضله » يعنى بما آتاهم من فضل الرسول ، وقوله « قد تبين الرشد من الغى فمن يكفر بالطاغوت ، ويؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى — الرسول الصواب ، والوصى الرشد ، وصواب ورشد سبعة أحرف يعنى لا يكره الله أحدا على دينه فقد تبين [برسوله مقام علىّ وهو الوصى وهو][3] الرشد واتباعه الرشد من الغى ويعنى بالغى الظالم المتعدى[4] والطاغوت الظالم إذا طغى بتعديه على الوصى « فذلك الطغيان والايمان » يعنى فمن كفر بهذا الطاغى وآمن . . .[5] فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى » للوصاية فيه بعد الرسالة والإمامة بعد الوصاية ، وقوله سبحانه « ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بعاد إرم ذات العماد . . . إلى قوله « فأكثروا فيها الفساد » قوله بعاد معناه أنه الثلاثة وهو أول من ظلم عليا عليه السلام وأخذ مكانه . . .[5]

(١) سقطت فى ا (٢) سقطت فى ا (٣) سقطت فى ا (٤) ا: المعتدى
(٥) بياض فى النسختين

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. . . والعادى فى اللغة الباغى[1] الظالم الذى عدا طوره ، و يعنى بذات العماد عليا عليه السلام ، بإرم رام الحق ورام رسول الله صلعم واتباعه وذات العماد التأويل لأن عمود الدين ومعمود الطالبين ومن ذلك قول الله سبحانه « الذى رفع السموات بغير عمد ترونها » يعنى بغير فوائد من علم التأويل ترونها أنتم وإنما يراها رسوله ووصيه وتلقنها إليه بأمر الله ؛ ثم قال « إرم ذات العماد التى لم يخلق مثلها فى البلاد » هى الأرض وهى مثل الحجج لم يخلق مثل على عليه السلام فى الحجج ، وقوله « التى » لأن الاسم التأنيث[2] يقع على الأرض وهو الوصى والحجة إذا قررنا مع الرسول والإمام على ما تقدم شرحه فيعنى[3] « إرم ذات العماد » التى علىّ عند ذوى التأويل « وثمود الذين جابوا الصخر بالواد » يعنى ثمود الثانى . . . . . »[4] وجابو الصخر ؛ قطعوا الحجج من دعوة الحق الباطن الذى يقيمهم فيه علىّ عليه السلام ، لأن الجوب[5] بلغة العرب القطع . والصخر فى الباطن الحجج لأن الصخر من الجبال والجبال الحجج ، ولذلك قال فى قصة موسى « أرأيت إذ أوينا إلى الصخرة » يعنى حجة من حججه وقوله « بالواد » فالوادى الإمام الذى يجرى منه علم الباطن ، يجرى كما يجرى الماء فى الوادى وهو ههنا علىّ لأنه الإمام بعد محمد فى عصر الظلمة ، فيعنى قطعوا الحجج الذين هم حجج الإمام عن دعوة الإمام بظلمهم وتعديهم عليه ، فذلك معنى قوله « جابوا الصخر بالواد » وقال « وفرعون ذى الأوتاد » الثالث . .[6]

(١) ا: الثانى (٢) ا: الناس (٣) ا: ومعنى (٤) بياض فى النسختين (٥) ا، ب: الجواب
(٦) بياض فى الأصل

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أوتاد الكفرة وهم الشجرة الملعونة فى القرآن ، ثم قال «الذين طغوا فى البلاد فأكثروا فيها الفساد» طغوا فى تعديهم على علىّ عليه السلام . وهو فى التأويل البلاد «فأكثروا» معناه فأكثروا فى أمر الفساد والتغيير لمقامه ، وجحدوا ما معه[1] من علم التأويل . . . .[2] والشاهد على أن الوادى من أمثال الإمام قول الله سبحانه «أنزل من السماء ماء فسالت أودية بقدرها فاحتمل السيل زبدا رابيا . . . . . إلى قوله «كذلك يضرب الله الأمثال» فقوله «أنزل من السماء» يعنى أنزل من الرسول ويسّر بلسانه علما باطنا ، كما قال «فإنما يسرناه بلسانك» «فسالت أودية» معنى الأودية أئمة الباطن الذين يقيمون أمر الرسول أوّلهم وصيه فيتكلم كل إمام منهم[3] من علم الباطن بما يجرى إليه من قدر وادٍ يجرى فيها الماء العذب ، هى بطون الارض ، وكذلك الأئمة عليهم السلام الباطن فى صدورهم الحجج ، وكما وكف سيل الوادى حتى لا يجرى على وجه الأرض كذلك إمساك الإمام[4] بعلم الباطن ظاهر باد غير مستور[5] ، والرابى والبادى المشرف[6] «ومنه رابياً ومما يوقدون عليه» يعنى وما يتراجعون فيه ويخوضون ويلتمسون[7] من ظاهر ولاية الإمام[8] بما قال . . . «كذلك يضرب الأمثال» فى القرآن لأن الرسول ينطق بالتنزيل والظاهر وفيه تأويله الباطن فيبلغ[9] التنزيل إلى كل من اتبعه ظاهراً ويلقى التأويل إلى وصيه سراً

(١) ا: سمة (٢) بياض فى النسختين (٣) ا: فيهم (٤) ا: الامساك (٥) ا: عمر سور (٦) ا: السرو (٧) ا: يلعون (٨) ا: إمام الزمان (٩) ا: مبلغ

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ثم يشير إلى الوصى بأمر الله ليستمع منه التأويل فمن تمسك بظاهر التنزيل بلا باطن لم يكن له حياة ؛ وهو ظاهر يراه كل أحد لاحجاب عليه . قوله « قرآن » تأويله مقرون بمحمد صاحب التنزيل وعلىّ صاحب التأويل ، فهما فيه مقرونان الرسول والوصى قدرة وعزة [وهى سبعة أحرف][1] فما كان فى القرآن من قدرة وعزة فهما إشارة إلى الرسول والوصى عليهما السلام .

اعلم رحمك الله أن الله جل اسمه جعل للعلم مفتاحاً وهو عهد الله وميثاقه الذى جعله أكبر أسبابه وكرر ذلك فى كتابه وخزائن دينه وحكمته وبه قبل وسائل[2] طاعته ؛ فعهد إلى آدم عليه السلام فقال « ولقد عهدنا إلى آدم من قبل ». . . .[3] فنسى وقال لمحمد (صلعم) « وإذ أخذنا من النبيين ميثاقهم . . الآية » وذلك كرامة منه لهم لكرم العهد وجلالته وقال « لاينال عهدى الظالمين » وفرض الوفاء به وقال « وأوفوا بعهد الله إذا عاهدتم . . الآية » وقال « إن الذين يبايعونك إنما يبايعون الله يد الله فوق أيديهم . . الآية » فبين بهذا أن من بايع رسوله فقد بايعه ومن عاهده فقد عاهده ، وكرم العهد بإضافته إليه عز وجل وجعل للوفاء به أجراً عظيما وقال « الذين يوفون بعهد الله ولا ينقضون الميثاق » إلى قوله « لهم عقبى الدار جنات عدن . . الآية » فمدح العهد وجعل جزيل الثواب لمن وفى به وأليم العقاب لمن نكث وقال « الذين ينقضون عهد الله من بعد ميثاقه » إلى قوله « ولهم سوء الدار » وقال « وما وجدنا

(١) سقطت فى ب (٢) ا . رسائل (٣) فى الاصل كلمة لا تقرأ كأنها فنسى

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لا كثرهم من عهد . . الآية ، وقد قال « فسجدوا إلا ابليس كان من الجن ففسق عن أمر ربه » فجعل من لاعهد له بمنزلة ابليس الذى غضب الله عليه ولعنه ؛ وقال « إن شر الدواب عند الله الذين كفروا . . الآية » وقال « كيف يكون للمشركين عهد عند الله وعند رسوله » إكراماً للعهد ، [وقال فى قصص عن لوط قوله لقومه] (١) « انكم لتأتون الفاحشة ما سبقكم بها من أحد من العالمين إنكم لتأتون الرجال » والرجال الدعاة يعنى تأخذون لأنفسكم على الدعاة وتمنعونهم (٢) من الدعوة (٣) فهو قطع السبيل ، والسبيل الدعوة إلى الحق ، وتأتون فى ناديكم المنكر يعنى على إمامكم بما تنكرونه من منع الدعاة الذين كانوا يدعون إليه عن الدعوة سبيل المؤمنين التى يصلون بها إلى دينه (٤) وحرمه ويتولون من أخذ العهود على الدعاة ما لم يولهم (٥) الإمام ؛ وفى المؤمنين الذين هم فى حد المحرم (٦). قال الله سبحانه « كل نفس بما كسبت رهينة إلا أصحاب اليمين » يعنى كل داع مأخوذ بما دعا إليه ومن يهديه إلا المحرمون وهم أصحاب الداعى فى جنات يتساءلون عن المجرمين يعنى المذنبين الذين هم أجرموا بتكذيب الحق ولم يؤمنوا به فيقول (٧) المؤمنون أصحاب الداعى للمكذبين « ما سلككم فى سقر » أى أدخلكم فى عذاب النار ، فيقول المكذبون « لم نكن من المصلين (٨) » أى لم نكن من الدعاة إلى الحق ، والصلاة فى الباطن الدعوة ؛ فيقول أصحاب اليمين ؛ وهم المؤمنون أصحاب

(١) ا : وقال قصص عن لوط قومه (٢) ا : يمتعوهم (٣) ا . الدعاة (٤) ا : ذمته (٥) ب : مايوليهم (٦) ا : حل (٧) ا : فيق (٨) ا : المضلين

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الداعى ، ولم نكن نحن من الدعاة ونحن فى الجنة ، فيقول المكذبون « لم نك نطعم » أى لم نكن نشرح ولا نروى المؤمنين بالحكمة ، فيقول أصحاب الداعى المؤمنون ولم نكن [نشرح ولا نروى] (١) ، فيقول المكذبون « وكنا نخوض مع الخائضين » يعنى كنا نخوض فى الكلام والمقالات ، فيقول المؤمنون وكنا نخوض مع الخائضين فى الكلام والمقالات ، فيقول المكذبون « وكنا نكذب بيوم الدين حتى أتانا اليقين » معناه نكذب بالمهدى سابع النطقاء فيقول المؤمنون : ما كنا نكذب بالمهدى بل كنا نتوالاه وكنا من أهل عهده وذمته ، فبذلك استحققنا الجنان واستحققتم عذاب النار لتكذيبكم أصحاب اليمين ، وأصحاب الداعى ، فالمؤمن المحرم بمنزلة الذى قد بلغ الحلم . فهذا تأويل هذه الآية وتفسيرها فى الباطن والظاهر .

نجز كلام منصور اليمن نضر الله وجهه

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(١) ا : لسرح ولا يرى

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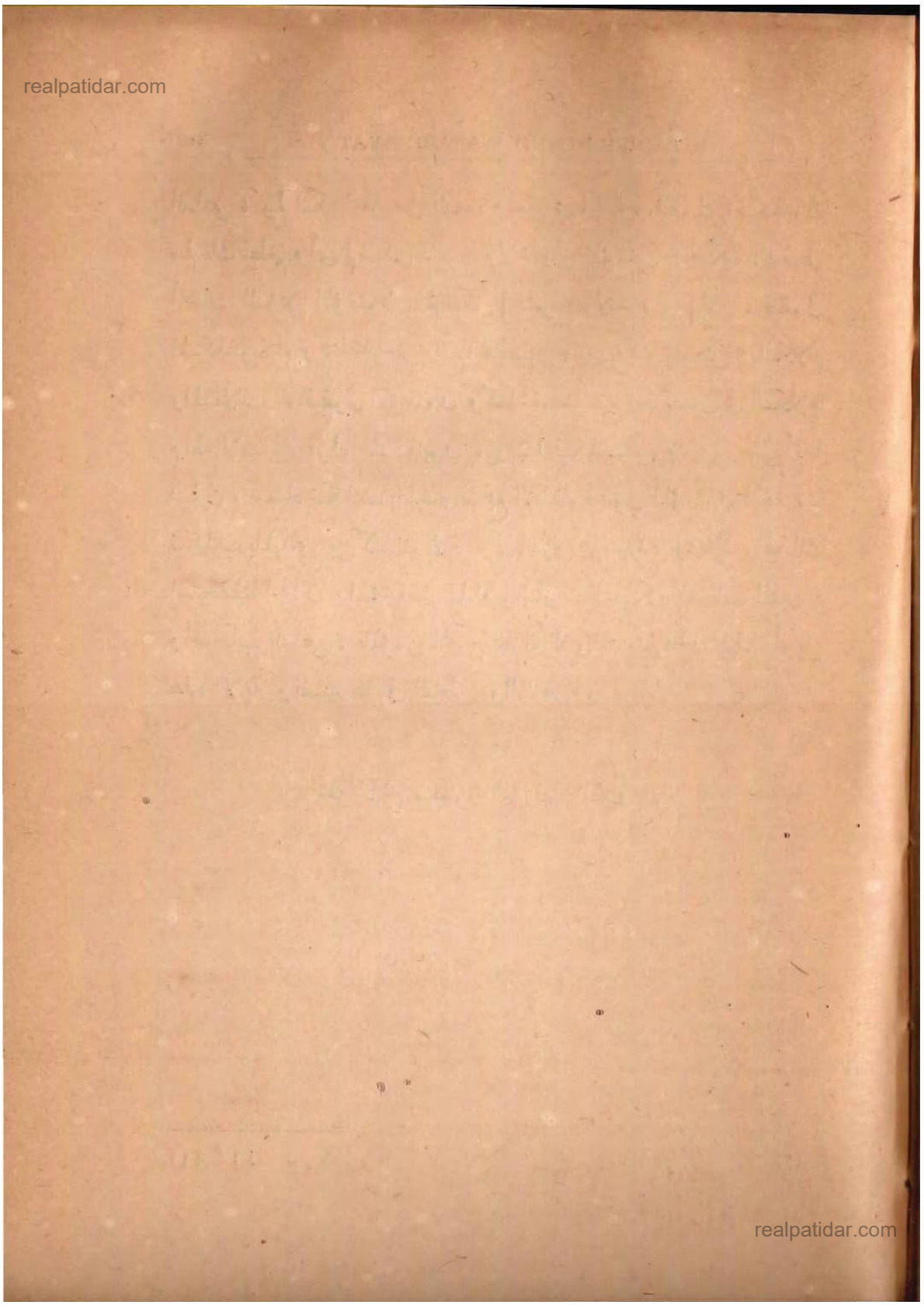

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Exceptions in the alphabetical arrangement of the entries :

Abû, b. (= bin), Ibn, K. (= *Kitâb*), R. (= *Risâla*), unless forming an essential part of the title, the Arabic definitive article *al-*, prepositions, and words within parentheses, *are not taken into account* in the alphabetical arrangement of the entries in this index.

Abbreviations :

AI = Ali-ilahi, Ali-ilahism; IA = Ithna-'ashari; SP = Satpanth, Satpanthi; *sûr.* = *sûrat*, chapter of the Coran.

The *oblique stroke* / signifies that reference is made to the *footnote* on the page indicated.

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